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OCCASIONAL SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

SECOND SERIES



Arrival at Ruzyne Airport, Prague, 6 June, 1956

OCCASIONAL SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

SECOND SERIES

February 1956—February 1957

By

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Vice-President of India

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY New Delhi

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ON ARRIVAL IN PRAGUE*

6 June, 1956

I AM VERY HAPPY to be here today in response to the kind invitation of your Government and I am thankful to you for your very generous words of welcome. It is a happy accident that this very day last year you gave our Prime Minister a magnificent welcome. That visit brought our two peoples nearer to each other. I hope that this visit of mine may contribute a little to the strengthening of our friendly relations.

I realize that our two peoples are now striving to build a social and economic democracy. After we attained our independence it has been our constant endeavour to raise the standards of living of our people, and I am glad to be assured of your sympathy and support in this effort of ours. But all our efforts will be blasted if we do not secure peace; that is why we desire peaceful and friendly co-operation among nations. In an age which has learnt to navigate the air and split the atom, there are no foreign nations. If one nation suffers, all will suffer to some extent. We have become inter-responsible. We must have less suspicion and more unselfishness in the conduct of international relations. We

* Speech on arrival at the Ruzyne Airport, Prague, 6 June, 1956

must develop the habit of thinking in terms of peace.

I thank you once again for your kind welcome and I am looking forward to a very useful time in your country.

REPLY AT STATE RECEPTION IN PRAGUE*

7 June, 1956

I AM GRATEFUL to you and to your Government for this excellent opportunity which they gave me to come to your country and know a little about it. In three or four days you do not expect to know much about a country. All the same, I see here a country which passed through many trials and tribulations and is now making steady and satisfactory progress in many sides of her national life. As you reminded us, we are in a similar situation, having passed through troublesome times. We now have an opportunity of reconstructing our national life from its foundations. We must live before we can live really well. We have to provide ourselves with the material conditions of life, food, clothing and shelter, before we can develop our cultural life. We believe in a distinction between the mechanics of living and the art of living. So far as the mechanics of living is concerned—the provision of the material conditions which are essential for any nation to progress—we believe in control, planning and regulation. So far as the art of living is concerned—literature, philosophy, religion,

*Speech in reply at the State Reception given by the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, Prague, 7 June, 1956

meditation and worship—we believe in absolute freedom. So, taking our stand on that fundamental distinction between the mechanics and the art of life, we plan our economic and industrial life, we try to provide education for our people and to bring within their reach sanitary and medical facilities. So far as the cultural life is concerned, we wish to give our citizens absolute freedom to think, meditate and worship as they choose.

You, Mr President, referred to our work in Korea, Indo-China and at the Bandung Conference, things which we undertook under the inspiring leadership of our Prime Minister, but the little done there should not blind us to the vast that remains to be done. You referred to the Pañchaśīla as the new code of international morality: peaceful co-existence, non-aggression, non-interference, mutual assistance, etc. It is one thing to subscribe to these principles, quite another to implement them in actual life. We have all subscribed to the United Nations' Charter which asks us to adopt the principles of racial harmony, economic and social equality and political freedom. But the mere subscription to the Charter of the United Nations has not enabled us to work those principles out in international life. What is necessary, therefore, is the development of a new spirit. We need not a programme but a new vision and a new outlook. That is why the original Pañchaśīla, announced by the Buddha 2500 years ago, wished to endow

us with a new outlook. He believed that the individual must change before society can change. The great Chinese thinker Confucius has said how to reform the world: We can reform the world by reforming the states. We can reform the states by reforming the families. we can reform the families by reforming ourselves. So, the root of all improvement is self-improvement.

So, if these Pañchaśīla of the international code are to become a functioning reality, human individuals will have to change their outlook and look upon the problems of the world with a different vision.

You, Mr President, referred to the integration of our country and wished us success in achieving that. We note with great satisfaction the way in which the hitherto French possessions of India were integrated in fact and in law during the last fortnight. We cannot expect anything else from a country like France which has given to the world the great ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. I have no doubt that the remaining problems of our country will also be similarly solved and that other people will follow the example of the noble French.

You spoke to us about cultural and economic co-operation. Politicians may differ, our economic interests may clash, but when we stand before the masterpieces of art and literature, we do not ask to what country an artist belongs or what nationality he comes from. When we stand before

a Shakespeare or Kālidāsa, we are overwhelmed by the excellence, by the perfection of the work, which devastates and overwhelms our whole being, makes us different from what we happen to be. On the plane of spirit there are no racial or national barriers. The great people belong to the whole world. They are the contemporaries of all ages and of all countries.

I have no doubt that we will be able to establish closer co-operation on the plane of culture, art, literature, etc. You referred to the beautiful flowers which are now aglow in the light of spring and you forecast that, even as they blossom, our relationship might also blossom. We, in India, have used the lotus more frequently than many other countries as a symbol of what we expect humanity would be. From mud and dirt, beautiful flowers can spring. From nations which are today oppressed, which are today suffering from political, economic, or racial bondage, we may have great developments and contributions if only we give them a chance.

UNITED NATIONS*

If there is any phenomenon which is characteristic of our age, it is the growing unity of mankind. What happens in one part of the world affects the rest of the world. The time when each country ran its own life without much interference from others is long past.

From the beginning of the world, prophets have dreamed of the unity of mankind. The Hindus speak of *svadeśo bhuvana-trayam*. The Buddha sought to establish the kingdom of righteousness in the whole world, *dharma-rājya*. Confucius said: 'Under heaven one family.' Christianity speaks of peace and goodwill on earth. We are members one of another, according to St. Paul. All religions affirm the oneness of man, that in the sight of God we are all one. They affirm the sacredness of human personality. Every human being has innate worth and dignity. We believe that all relations between teachers and students, parents and children, employers and employees should be governed by love. Man is not made for hate and destruction but for love and life.

Dreams cannot become realities unless there are material factors by which we can implement them. Today the forces of science and technology have supplied the material conditions.

*Address to the University of Cracow, 13 June, 1956

As the world becomes smaller, man's mind must become larger or else conflicts will occur. We cannot attribute wars to circumstances. They are not what insurance companies call acts of God. They are acts of man. We are today facing a challenge and we have to respond to it adequately, if we are to advance the endeavour of civilization. We must change the axis of our thought and life.

We have grown in the past with faith in military methods. If we gain more military strength than our adversary, we will preserve peace. If the adversary is wise, he will not provoke war; if he is foolish and provokes war, he will suffer defeat. On this basis, we have acted. Marx says that force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. Some of his followers feel that force is not merely the midwife but the mother of the new society. *The Communist Manifesto* has this: 'The history of all society hitherto has been the history of class struggle.' Sir Winston Churchill observes: 'The story of the human race is war.' Today the conditions of warfare have so altered that defeat and victory cannot be so simply interpreted. A nuclear war will mean the extermination of the enemy and of ourselves. The destructive effects of nuclear weapons will be felt in so-called neutral countries as well as in belligerent areas. Another war will be suicidal folly for both the belligerents and the onlookers.

There are some who imagine that if we ban

nuclear weapons, we may have the luxury of little wars such as the two we have had in this century. This banning will be futile, for no system of inspection can ensure that bombs are not being manufactured secretly. Besides, even if at the outbreak of hostilities neither side possesses secret weapons, they will start manufacturing them immediately war breaks out. We may presume that in any great war both sides will employ the most dreadful and destructive weapons which science has devised.

We cannot be sure that wars will not break out. It will be wrong to imagine that men are rational enough to reject errors when they see them and adopt enlightened ideas. If nerves are frayed and tempers high, rational considerations do not prevail. If the universal destructiveness of war is to deter us from engaging in conflicts, conflicting vital interests will have to be settled by other means. Peacemaking and military preparedness do not go well together. We cannot prepare for war and make peace at the same time. By emotional engineering we train the mass mind and make it long for war. A new kind of diplomacy which does not depend on war or threat of war has to be organized. New principles and new machinery will have to be devised.

The possession of unlimited powers of self-annihilation should impel us to develop humanity and idealism. Man has the instinct for self-preser-

vation. It is this instinct that led us to develop the League of Nations after the First World War and the United Nations Organization after the Second World War. This organization and its specialized agencies have much to their credit, but on the fundamental political issues our hopes have not been fulfilled. What are the causes of the inadequacy of the United Nations ?

(*i*) It is not universal.

(*ii*) It is divided into blocs. It is not justice but pressure of power blocs that decides issues in the U.N.

(*iii*) It is not effectively bringing about peaceful changes. The major problems in Asia and Africa are those of poverty, hunger and unemployment.

The United Nations must become all-comprehensive. All nations which have Governments which exercise power and authority in their areas, so long as they are willing to subscribe to the United Nations Charter, should be admitted. It is a matter of satisfaction that sixteen countries were admitted to the U.N. last year. A large country like China is still out of it. Many of our negotiations have to be carried on with China, and so long as she is not within the U.N., these negotiations have to be carried on outside the U.N. To this extent, the usefulness of the U.N. is greatly diminished. It is, therefore, imperative that the U.N. should become a world organization in a true sense. China, Japan

and other established Governments should be admitted to the United Nations.

The East-West conflict has prevented the U.N. from functioning properly. At any time military pacts and alliances are dangerous; at the present moment, with the development of nuclear weapons, they are disastrous to humanity. Again, we cannot go on piling up armaments indefinitely and conditioning men's minds for war without exposing ourselves to the risk of war. Highly advanced and democratic nations are obliged to acquiesce in policies which are anti-democratic and opposed to the U.N. Charter. Even after the First World War we announced the principle of self-determination. The United Nations Charter assures to all nations, great and small, the right to be free. But those who wield power in the U.N. are not in a position to sympathize with the pleas of Asian and African nations. Cold war commitments take precedence over the just demands of oppressed countries for liberation. We are obliged to sacrifice considerations of rightness on the altar of cold war strategy. Democratic nations, in spite of their own convictions, are obliged to oppose the demand for independence of Asian and African peoples, the liberation of Latin Americans and Asians from the economic bondage in which many of them live. There is no doubt that the United States of America, as a former colony which gained her independence after a struggle, sympathizes with the aspirations

for freedom of all dependent and colonial peoples, but she is unable to express her sympathy with nationalist groups in Asia and Africa, for she does not wish to embarrass her allies. This policy of ambiguity has cost her many allies in the East.

The United Nations was originally conceived as a forum for the peaceful settlement of disputes, with possible forces of its own to back its decisions. As the cold war developed, it tended to become a collective military instrument for use against aggressor nations. Giving up its role of mediation and peaceful settlement, it adopted the method of collective security. Even this concept was applied only when it conformed to the demands of the power-groups. In Korea collective action was invoked, in Guatemala it was discouraged, though in both cases aggression had taken place. The United Nations wishes to contribute to peace and security not in the spirit of the Charter of co-operative effort towards mutual restraint, but by the precarious balancing of mutually opposed groupings.

If India and some other countries hesitate to align themselves with either of the two blocs, it does not mean that they are unwilling to decide between right and wrong. We are committed to peace, democracy and the U.N. Charter. It is the groups which compromise with these ideals. If we are convinced that war is a total disaster, then we should re-double our efforts in the peaceful settlement of our problems. The settlement of a dispute

by agreement is more advantageous to the disputants than the continuation of it. Even if there were not such powers who have not aligned themselves, they will have to be invented. We are the States who can influence both sides to look at each other with discrimination. We are not attempting the impossible, to reconcile evil with good. We are asking all those who have control over nuclear weapons to discard them. We feel that the conflict between the two groups should be resolved through peaceful means and not catastrophic war. We believe that States which adopt different political systems can exist together. We believe that peaceful co-existence will help to educate totalitarian systems to a perception of individual dignity and the importance of civil liberties, and the democratic systems to care more for social justice, racial harmony and political freedom. India's adoption of the democratic outlook is sufficient proof that we are not neutral between peace and war. We are positively on the side of democracy and of peace. We are unhappy that democracies do not work out the implications of democracy and are suffering from certain fixed ideas. They seem to be more the guardians of the *status quo* than the champions of the oppressed. Millions are living under primitive conditions, suffering from hunger, disease and denial of advantages which modern science provides. We are not prepared to reduce armaments and thereby diminish the crushing economic burden and the

diversion of years in the life of the young to pursuits which have merely a destructive purpose.

Recent happenings in the Soviet Union show that the system is still fluid and has not assumed a final form. Changes are being introduced. The Soviet people seem to have given up the fanatical intolerance of other systems of economics and politics. Other than communist ways of achieving a socialist pattern of society are recognized. Liberal tendencies now slowly manifesting themselves will be encouraged by a process of peaceful, mutually educative co-existence. If we work for a new social order, a co-operative commonwealth, communism and capitalism should be regarded as alternative means to it, each with its values and defects. When they interact on each other, their defects may fall out and a new order of justice and freedom may be eventually established.

We need today a sense of humility. We must give up the attitude of self-righteousness, that we are right and our opponents wrong, or the attitude that we may not be perfect but we are certainly better than our opponents. We must abandon the sense of moral superiority. We must realize that we are slaves of fear, of unlimited egotism. 'He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone.'

The United Nations should become an instrument for peaceful changes. World co-operation is possible only on the basis of equality and mutual welfare. We believe in freedom not only for

ourselves but for other people. No nation should tolerate exploitation by another. No people could be indifferent to their own poverty. All those who believe in democracy profess that they do not believe in political or economic exploitation or racial discrimination. Yet when questions arise in the U.N., when proposals are made to liberate oppressed nationalities, to terminate racial discrimination, the democracies hesitate to support them. They oppose these proposals or abstain from expressing their views. If the suppressed peoples suspect the motive of the democracies, we cannot blame them. If the peace of the world is to be secured, it can only be on the basis of political freedom, racial harmony and economic justice. Those who have subscribed to the Charter of the U.N. should be the opponents of colonialism and racial oppression. Unfortunately national unselfishness is much more difficult than individual unselfishness. Even unselfish individuals, when they become leaders of their Governments, do not behave in an unselfish manner. We practise 'My country right or wrong'. We have not developed the sense of a world community.

The East-West struggle derives its strength from the fact that half the world's population is living in a state of hunger, below the minimum for existence. In Asia they have awakened. In Africa they are awakening.

Mass hunger and other social evils lie at the root

of war. The military approach to the struggle should be transformed into a competition for economic and social leadership. The advanced nations should, out of their own self-interest and not out of fear or sense of guilt, come to the help of the underdeveloped, for peace ultimately depends on raising the level of the life of the sick and hungry millions, and if we desire peace, we must serve those who are in need. We must believe in international interdependence. Nationalism is not enough. Let us remember the words of Edith Cavell, just before she was shot by a German firing squad in October 1915: 'Standing as I do,' she said, 'in view of God and eternity, I realize that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone.'

We must change human nature to foster wider sympathies and imagination. We must enable people to look upon the happiness and suffering of other people as our own. We must affirm that truth prevails and love endures. We must reject reliance on methods of force. 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, love your enemies'[1] No nation can live in independence in the modern world. We are all dependent on one another. We must work in a friendly partnership. A world brotherhood is our ultimate ideal in human affairs. This is possible only by a partnership in peaceful co-existence. People's freedom in

[1] Matthew, V. 43-44

the management of their own affairs should be absolute. They will develop the form of government which suits their genius. They should be protected from military or political aggression, overt or covert. We believe in co-operation, not conflict, love, not hate. Reason, not force, should govern human affairs.

As in a democratic state, in a democratic world we should settle our differences by negotiation, discussion, and reach decisions which reconcile conflicting interests by a process of mutual give and take. Out of the turmoil and trouble of our time there may emerge a new social order based on moral principles and spiritual values which will draw together men of alien races and varied traditions. We may develop a sustained way of living as members of the world community. With a common conscience, a common understanding, we will establish peace and prosperity in the world. Wars between nations will then become as obsolete as duels between individuals.

ON ARRIVAL IN MOSCOW*

15 June, 1956

I AM HAPPY to be here on the invitation of your President and renew my acquaintance with this great city and the people of the Soviet Union. I spent over two years here from September 1949 to April 1952. Since I left the place great things have happened. Our Prime Minister came here last year and received a royal welcome which touched us all. We had the honour of receiving your Prime Minister Mr Bulganin and Mr Khruschev. Besides, there were delegations, cultural and trade, which were exchanged between us. All these have contributed to bring our peoples closer, and helped to strengthen our friendly relations.

I am here at this important moment of vital developments in the Soviet Union. There has been a re-assessment of old policies and a drive towards new values. With the acceptance of the socialistic objectives by many countries and liberalization of the Soviet regime, the differences which divide us may fade away and the nightmare world in which we are tossing and turning may become a thing of the past. It is evident that the Soviet Union wishes not to die for its doctrines but to live for its ideals.

In spite of other differences, our two countries

* Speech on arrival at the Moscow Airport, 15 June, 1956

are one in so far as we are engaged internally in re-planning our society on a socialistic pattern, and externally in working for peace which, I dare say, is the objective of all nations. There is much that binds us together, and I hope that we will work together for our mutual advantage.

SPEECH AT KREMLIN RECEPTION*

15 June, 1956

I AM THANKFUL to Your Excellency for your kind words of welcome. I appreciate your generous remarks about my work in Moscow when I was Ambassador here. As I was not a professional diplomat, I approached my duties here in a friendly and human way and I did not find any great difficulties. I was able to explain to your leaders the fears and apprehensions of the outside world about your policies and I did not find any iron curtain of incommunicability. I expressed the fear, whether real or imaginary, which the outward world had—it was the same to which Palmerston gave voice a century ago: 'The policy and practice of the Russian Government have always been to push forward its encroachments as fast and as far as the apathy or want of firmness of other Governments would allow it to go, but always to stop and retire when it met with decided resistance.' The NATO is the product of this fear. Now that you have declared your faith in peaceful co-existence and shown by some of your deeds that your faith is not a pretence, the fear of the outside world may diminish.

We are grateful to you for your sympathy and

*Speech at the Reception in the Kremlin given by President Voroshilov, 15 June, 1956

support to us in the period of our struggle for freedom and assistance thereafter in the development of our economy.

You have focused the attention of the world on the inequalities, the burdens which bear down the hopes of the people. A system where the happiness of a few is built on the misery of the many calls for change.

Whatever differences there may be in our methods of approach, the objectives remain the same. My country is engaged in the gigantic task of reconstructing our society on a socialist pattern and we adopt democratic methods and processes which are congenial to our background and traditions. This reconstruction requires peace in the world. We are, therefore, keen on the prevention of war and the preservation of peace. We cannot have peace in the world unless we have freedom and justice, unless men are able to walk upright in the lands where they are born and are free to use the fruits of their labour. Your insistence on the removal of every kind of exploitation is correct. There are grave injustices, political, economic and racial, that block the way to an enduring peace. Those who stand for the present order of society with its masters and slaves are by no means the friends of peace. We should not believe in the invincible inferiority of some peoples and support the present injustices and cruelties. We should not trace all the troubles in Morocco, Algeria, Cyprus

and Singapore to the machinations of the Soviet Union.

The State exists for man and not man for the State. Karl Marx complained about the capitalist order that for the enormous majority it gave mere training to act as machines, that it destroyed the humanity of the proletarian, that the individual was deprived of his privacy and right to personal development. Any system which suppresses the individual conscience is un-Marxist. If we give people education and economic opportunity, they will demand freedom of inquiry and criticism. Now that the Soviet Union has consolidated its base and secured stability, what was necessary in earlier years may not be needed now. Recent developments in the Soviet Union diminish the distance between the two systems of democracy, parliamentary and people's. You have lifted the blanket of fear and ended the dread of the police. You have admitted past mistakes, reduced somewhat armed forces, released from prison social democrats, abolished concentration camps, though you still have labour correction camps. Marx complained about the 'superstitious worship of authority' and stressed the role of the people in the making of history. As collective leadership increases, there will be more democratic control of State policies, open discussion of them first within the party and then in public. In a complex and increasingly diversified industrial economy, individual initia-

tive will be encouraged and the Soviet State will grow into a welfare State with free elections and opposition parties. If we are to encourage the liberal trends in the Soviet Union, we should bury bitterness and join together in a common endeavour to establish peace. The great issues which divide us may be solved more easily by patient understanding among the Powers than by rival blocs which face each other with suspicion and hostility.

History is being made at greater speed than ever before, and if we are wise and willing, we may help it forward and establish a world community. If by accident or design we do not blast the world by nuclear weapons by the end of the century, we may have an efficient world organization. If we temper our minds with a new sense of forbearance, we may yet achieve the dream of all history, 'under heaven one family'. We earnestly hope that you will co-operate in the building of a new world based on justice and freedom.

TELEVISION BROADCAST FROM MOSCOW

18 June, 1956

I AM HAPPY to have had this opportunity of spending a few days in Moscow and meeting your leaders. In the Soviet Union we seem to be at the turning of a chapter. Both within and without, considerable changes are noticeable. There is a relaxed atmosphere within the country, and more freedom of movement and thought. In international relations the changes are marked. The courageous confession of past mistakes and excesses, the conclusion of the Austrian Treaty which grants freedom and independence to Austria, the settlement of the dispute with Yugoslavia, the return of the Soviet base of Porkalla to Finland, the dissolution of Cominform, the reduction of the armed forces and the proposals for disarmament are indications of a changed outlook. If the other Powers do not recognize this, if they do not encourage these developments, I am afraid they will be unfair to themselves as well as to the Soviet Union and may even be responsible for continuing the cold war, the arms race and conditioning men's minds for a conflict which, in this nuclear age, will be a grave disaster. In the present crisis the Soviet acts call for sympathy and understanding.

Any insistence on past wrongs will not help us. There is no nation whose record is perfectly clean. When minds are obsessed by malignant fears, there is no remedy except patience, forbearance and understanding. This is a time for humility and self-examination. Let us turn our back on the past and destroy the power of fixed ideas in a fluid world. Let us cease competing in making allegations against one another and concentrate on using the immense energies which are at the disposal of man for human welfare and progress.

ON LEAVING MOSCOW*

19 June, 1956

THESE FEW DAYS which I spent here with great pleasure and profit gave me an opportunity to see something of the changed atmosphere of the country and feel a little the spirit of the Soviet leaders. There is a consciousness of strength—military and industrial—and consequently a great sense of security. Now that security is safeguarded and material conditions are provided to some extent for the common people, there is an eager attempt to raise the quality of the human being and to establish the conditions for that. I hope that the leaders of the Soviet Union will go on undeterred in their march towards a progressive, humane, liberal welfare State.

* Speech at the Airport on leaving Moscow, 19 June, 1956

TASHKENT BROADCAST

22 June, 1956

I HAVE BEEN these two days in the two well-known centres of Uzbekistan, Tashkent and Samarkand. Uzbekistan has had a long history in which it was subjected to many cultural pressures. Centuries before Christ, we hear of the Uzbeks as sowing wheat and keeping cattle. Darius, the Persian Emperor, carved the world's biggest sign-post out of the rock showing the way between Samarkand and Iran. Both Uzbekistan and North-west India were parts of his Empire. In the fourth century B.C. Alexander brought Hellenic influence to bear on the Uzbeks. He also came to parts of India. The Buddhist missionaries spread the message of the Buddha in Uzbekistan. Islam was imposed on a Buddhist community when the Arab invasion took place in A.D. 728. Then came the disaster of the Mongols followed by the renaissance of Timur and his successors. We in India also felt their impact. Ulubeg built the one and only observatory in Central Asia near Samarkand, the remains of which I visited today. I am told that those who built the observatory in Jaipur in Rajasthan learnt a good deal from the Samarkand observatory. Then began a long decline of Uzbekistan into feudalism and economic decay. Till a generation

ago, we found here, as in some other parts of Asia, ancient monuments and ruins and people living in filth and disease, ignorance and superstition. Today, we see the forces of modernism at work. We have technical schools and universities, medical institutes, hospitals, theatres, operas, concert halls, cinema houses and parks of culture. There are many signs of agricultural prosperity and industrial advance. People who were regarded as primitive till the other day are now teachers, doctors, administrators, ministers. It is good to know that 75 per cent of the State budget is allotted to what we call social services, education and health, art and culture. In these Asian Republics of the Soviet Union, standards have risen out of recognition.

I dare say that liberties of the mind, which are as important for healthy human lives as comforts for the body, will follow. We must recognize that material progress unhelped by moral and spiritual values brings its own revenges in spiritual disquiet and impoverishment. The pursuit of truth, the enjoyment of beauty and the practice of goodness are also necessary for the mental health of the people. We see here a country which is in a hurry to get somewhere.

Latterly, there have been cultural interchanges between India and Uzbekistan. Yesterday evening the Uzbeks gave us not only their national dances, but some Indian dances which their artists who

visited India learnt. A Ceylonese girl who happens to be with us gave two dances which were greatly appreciated. There is an eagerness to learn from India and give to India in matters of art and culture.

Our Prime Minister spent two days here and Mr Rashidov, President of the Presidium of the Republic of Uzbekistan, visited India on two occasions. These have helped to increase interest in India, and I hope these connections will grow in the years to come.

ON EARTH ONE FAMILY*

ON THIS LAST DAY of my visit to the Soviet Union, may I take the liberty of expressing my gratitude to President Voroshilov, members of the Government of the Soviet Union and the authorities of the different Republics which I visited, for their uniform kindness, hospitality and attention to me during my present visit ? So far as one can judge from brief acquaintance, one can say that the Soviet people are hard-working, friendly, good-natured, eager to learn. They have great pride in their country and faith in its future. Their love for peace is sincere.

The remarkable material progress which the Asian Republics have made will impress any unbiased visitor. If we compare their position thirty years ago with what it is today, we will find that these Republics have grown out of recognition. Of course, material progress by itself is not all. If unchecked by the higher values of the mind and spirit, it brings about its revenges, resulting in spiritual disquiet and impoverishment. In this city of monks and monasteries, I may be pardoned if I refer to those disciplines which make for the humanizing of spirit. I should like to do so, for there is a good deal of confusion about the Soviet attitude in the matter.

The Soviet people adopt the scientific method and

*Broadcast on Kiev Radio, 25 June, 1956

look upon truth as something objective to the pursuit of which man has to dedicate himself in a spirit of disinterestedness. Their enthusiastic encouragement of different forms of art, painting and sculpture, song and dance, architecture and literature, shows that they are votaries of beauty. Their eagerness to make the good life available for the ordinary man, to accomplish the conditions which will make it possible for them to lead human lives, easy, free, rich and dignified, is an illustration of their fundamental humanism. Truth, beauty and goodness are not dreams of the mind or fancies of the heart. They are extra-mental values which man has to establish on earth. Many of us regard the Divine as Truth, *satyam*, Beauty, *sundaram*, Perfection, *śivam* and Peace, *śāntam*.

When we are sometimes called upon to conduct a crusade against communism, which is regarded as the great enemy of religion, we seem to forget that the religion which the communists attack is the one based on incredible dogmas, which divides man from man, which robs man of his initiative and supports social inequalities and vested interests.

If religion is treated as an inward integration which each one has the freedom to achieve for himself, without interference from others, and a call to establish an equitable social order, there is not much in such a religion for the communists to complain about. In its esssence, religion is reintegration of human personality and redemption of

human society. When the Hindus speak of *jñāna* or wisdom, the Buddhists of *bodhi* or enlightenment, the Christians of *meta-noia*, they are all thinking of a change of consciousness, a growth of personality. This integration of human personality is an essential factor of all types of humanism.

In spite of the Marxist doctrine that all social phenomena are directly or indirectly determined by the economic conditions of society, the Marxists did not exclude the supremacy of the critical mind and the free will of the individual. We need not wait for the social conditions to become ripe. We can take a hand in controlling the drifting stream of history. The feeling that our action is in conformity with the higher purpose of the universe inspires the followers of Marx to energetic, sacrificial living.

Religion, again, correctly interpreted, gives value and dignity to the individual. When the Hindus speak of the in-dwelling divine, *antar-ātmā*, the Buddhists of the possibility of rising to the stature of the Buddha, when the Jews affirm that the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, when the Christians proclaim that 'the Kingdom of God is within you,' 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God and the spirit of God dwelleth in you,' when the Prophet of Islam tells us that God is nearer to us than the very artery of our neck, they all in different ways indicate that the divine is not an external despot, a sort of Sultan in the sky, but is

the inward principle of self, the inner light, *antar-jyoti*. We are sparks of the divine and it is for us to be co-creators with God, to battle with circumstances, to overcome evil and iniquity and raise the quality of human living.

Such a view of religion demands the repudiation of all injustices and inequalities and the establishment of a social order which is in conformity with the sanctity of the human individual. The universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948, condemns all distinctions based on 'race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status'. Though this Declaration cannot be made operative unless its provisions are accepted in specific conventions, the directives to nations are quite clear. Article 28 states that everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration can be fully realized. This conception of a universal welfare State, where we look upon the whole world as our sacred home, *vārāṇasī medinī*, is the dream of religious seers. On earth one family. Truly religious people are called upon to strive for and serve this world community. Religious men will be revolutionaries as long as there are errors to be corrected and evils to be overcome. Their ambition would be to remove the greatest burden of man, namely, the exploitation of man by man. If men are

dissatisfied with religion, it is because religious organizations happen to be advocates of external piety and not spiritual life and are often the champions of the *status quo*.

Let us remember that not merely in the Soviet Union, but in many other parts of the world also, there is a rejection of the stories which are taken literally by the common people about the lay-out of Paradise, the nature of the kingdom of darkness and the psychology of God. Many people are repelled by the dogmatic creeds and the artificial practices of organized religions. Many intelligent men, whatever may be their political views, radical or socialist, conservative or liberal, are inclined to adopt some form of scientific humanism. Aversion to dogma and lack of moral indignation against social injustice are responsible for the present indifference to religion.

It is true that in the earlier years, propaganda for atheism was adopted in the Soviet Union. When religious reaction supported Tsarist tyranny, the communists tried to throw out the baby along with the bath-water. When, in the Second World War, the Church supported the Soviet stand, a reconciliation was effected. Today the churches, mosques and synagogues in the Soviet Union are not badly attended. The State does not support any religion but does not bar the practice of religion by the people. Whether we are humanists or religious men, we have faith in democracy. The constitutions of the

advanced nations state this faith and call upon their members to implement it. The Charter of the United Nations demands it, but we all compromise in some degree with these ideals in our actions.

A new Asia, a new Africa, are striving to throw off foreign domination, are anxious to catch up with the twentieth century and achieve tolerable conditions of life for their oppressed, ill-nourished, ignorant, illiterate fellow-beings, the right to be themselves and be answerable to themselves, subject to considerations of general human welfare. It should be the duty of all advanced nations to assist these communities which are struggling to raise themselves. Instead of competing in the making of diabolic weapons, they should co-operate in giving political and economic aid to subject and suffering peoples. This is not always done.

In spite of our professions to the contrary, racial discrimination is practised in many parts of the world. The Soviet Union has achieved racial harmony. Members of different races get on well with one another and feel that they are all members of one community. We know how in different parts of the world racial justice is sacrificed at the altar of race pride. Even in advanced democracies we find a superior attitude, apartheid, the exclusive clubs, the subtleties of a real, though disguised, colour bar. There can be no peace in the world so long as racial oppression, producing great resentment and illwill, continues.

It is true that in the Soviet Union we do not have a parliamentary system of government. There is a saying attributed to Bukharin: 'We might have a two-party system, but one of the parties would be in office and the other in prison.' Opposition parties used to be treated as forms of counter-revolution. Lenin intended to lift the ban on the opposition parties when social and economic conditions of the country became stable. Today we can say that the State has attained strength, stability and security. The cult of the individual is repudiated, but the possibility of dictatorship is always there so long as the nation is said to elect the party; the party the organization; the organization the Central Committee; and the Central Committee the leader, who often becomes a dictator. The present hatred of dictatorship, the emphasis on collective leadership, the freedom of discussion within the party may well be regarded as the first steps towards the liberalization of the Soviet State.

We need not think that parliamentary democracy is un-Marxist. Marxism is a spirit, not a programme, a method of social analysis, not an interpretation of texts. The goal of socialism is obligatory, but the method of attaining it is optional. Whatever the system may be, the ideals are the same, directing the future towards the broad horizon, beauty and joy, peace and happiness. History will judge us by our deeds, not by our beliefs.

The greatest problem facing us today is the

prevention of war. Improvement in the means of communication has reduced the world to a close neighbourhood. We can use the scientific advance to make the world a common home for men to live in as members of a fellowship in art and science, in commerce and industry, or we may destroy ourselves. Both these possibilities are open to us. In an atomic war, there will be no front and no rear. There was a time when we engaged in wars in the conviction that it is better to win wars than to lose them. Today the difference between the victor and the vanquished has lost all its meaning. In the modern context, war is mass suicide. We must prevent it at any cost. We must bring about the conditions necessary for peace. The world must be shaken out of its egoism and its conscience roused from its slumber.

The differences between the two blocs have produced an atmosphere of suspicion, fear and hatred. Many of our judgments are too emotional to be safe or reliable. If we are to take a reasonable view of the present situation, we must rise superior to our emotions and take note of the re-thinking and re-acting that are taking place in the Soviet Union. Our passionate hatreds, our frozen attitudes should be cast away. We must not slander even our enemies. We are living in a period charged with history, and the two blocs must view the problems in a restrained and reasonable way. I have no doubt that wisdom and statesmanship will prevail.

COMMONWEALTH IDEALS*

THIS IS MY first visit to this country, and my acquaintance with it is very brief, and you do not expect me to speak much about the problems which you are facing.

I thought there were two points in which I had some relationship with this part of the world. We are members of the Commonwealth, and we have some settlers of Indian origin in this part of the world. These two things bring us together.

As for the Commonwealth, I notice in the Press that your Prime Minister is trying to get the Federation included with full status in the Commonwealth. Status is something we all worry about, and here he is attempting to get the Federation included as a full member of the Commonwealth.

When we talk about the Commonwealth, we are reminded of certain ideals which bind the peoples of the Commonwealth together. The nations which are members are fully free, absolutely independent. They share no allegiance, but they share loyalty to ideals. They have a common spirit of compromise, getting things adjusted by mutual discussion and agreement, equality before the law for all citizens. Some of these things are the cardinal features which bind the different members of the Commonwealth

*Address at an Inter-Racial Asian Reception in Duthie Hall, Salisbury, 4 July, 1956

together. No decisions are adopted in Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences which restrict the liberty of action of the members of the Commonwealth, but the discussions tend to bring about a better understanding.

So far as the ideals of the Commonwealth are concerned, they insist on the extension of democratic principles to all peoples who belong to the Commonwealth wherever they may be. We have, first of all, independence granted to nations which were European in their descent: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Eire. Later on, we have countries like India, Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan granted independence, and now the centre has shifted to Africa, where the same process of achieving self-government is at work and very soon it will be possible for us to say that there are many countries in Africa which are full members of the Commonwealth. That is the goal that the Commonwealth should set before itself. It attempts to achieve a harmony of mind and spirit among those who belong to the Commonwealth.

There may be difficulties, but the goal is clear, and without haste and without rest it is the duty of all of us who belong to the Commonwealth to work for the implementation of those great ideals.

We talk about peaceful co-existence, the concept of Pañchaśīla; active, peaceful co-existence. It affects not merely international relations but it also has a bearing on domestic relations; also on

national problems, and if a policy of peaceful, active co-existence is promoted in countries which have their own problems to face, there is no doubt that we will be able to reach the goal. But this peaceful, active co-existence requires a larger understanding, a wider imagination. Unless we develop a different outlook altogether, this peaceful co-existence cannot function either in the national or in the international field.

This very concept of Pañchaśīla was enunciated 2500 years ago by the Buddha in a different way. He said men must be more humane and civilized if they wished to be called human beings. He first of all gave us the principle—Do not injure other people. Practise non-violence. In almost all these problems let your approach be a democratic, peaceful, non-violent one. That is the first principle he spoke to us about.

The second principle he told us was—Do not be greedy. There is such a thing as greed of the individual or greed of the group. Selfishness may take different forms; individual or collective selfishness. As far as possible, do not aspire to other people's property or possessions.

The third thing he said was—Develop self-control. Unless we learn to govern ourselves, we will not be able to govern others. Self-control is essential for every individual. If we have fear, we have anger. Anger leads to hysteria. Hysteria leads to all sorts of actions. So, if we want to avoid these

things, it is essential for us to develop self-control. We must be able to rise superior to our emotions. Avoid all passions. It is difficult. We want to develop sanity, but as Erasmus said: 'Look at Providence; He confined reason to the cells of the brain, but allowed the passions the whole body to range over.' So to control passions by reason, which is confined to the cells of the brain, is not an easy thing. We are, therefore, asked to exercise self-control.

The fourth principle was—Do not resort to untruth. Do not shrink from truth for fear of offending powers or principalities. Try to live up to your conscience. Do not act in an untruthful way.

The last was—Avoid intoxicants. Demagogy is a great intoxicant. People lose their heads when appeals are made to them in the name of some kind of group loyalty.

So, the five principles that the Buddha enunciated 2500 years ago are these: avoid violence; avoid greed; adopt self-control; do not resort to untruth; avoid intoxicants. He made out that a human being becomes truly human, his emotions become refined and his purposes civilized if he is able to adopt this Pañchaśīla, which is for the re-making of the individual. Unless the individual is re-made, society cannot be re-made.

It was Plato who told us that constitutions reflected the dispositions of men. Unless we alter the dispositions of human beings, we will not be able to

alter the constitutions. Even after the constitutions are drawn up, we will not implement them; we will resort to subterfuges by which the constitutions are circumvented. In this world, which is becoming smaller every day, it is essential for us to make our hearts big and our minds large. We must widen our imagination, extend our sympathies, look on other human beings even though they may be unfortunate, poor, sick, uneducated, as our kindred, not as inferior beings—we must be in a position to give them status, dignity.

So, when we talk about the Commonwealth—our membership in the Commonwealth—we mean the adoption of certain ideals. These constitute the soul of the Commonwealth, the basis, the values without which the Commonwealth would fade away.

We live not because of our earthly possessions but we live on account of the ideals we cherish, and when we say we are members of the Commonwealth it is essential for us to adopt certain basic values and implement them in our daily life.

The second thing I mentioned was that we have settlers of Indian origin in this country. They are doing their work, I dare say, quite well, but it is essential for them to regard themselves as members of this society, of the society where they are placed, where they are making a living. Parties, when they are formed, as far as possible must be formed on the basis of political principles, not on the basis of racial relations. It is one society to which we all

belong here and it must be our endeavour to promote the progress and prosperity of all the people of this society. It does not mean that you have no interest in your culture or heritage. India is not a geographical expression—it is a living spirit. It stands for certain ideals. It tells us that this world of space and time is not all; it is something which is perpetually superseding itself. Anyone who looks at the Indian flag will see the rotating wheel of time—that in this world of time nothing is steady; all is movement. One thing leads on to another, and we give it the blue, indicating the colour of the sky and of the sea. The cosmic process is symbolized by the *cakra* you find in the centre. Is that wheel of time self-maintaining? Does it stand by itself? No; it depends on a vast, eternal background which we do not wish to define in any particular sectarian or dogmatic way, and we give to it the colourless white; what Shelley calls the white radiance of eternity. If the cosmic process is a perpetual movement, if it depends on an eternal background, the colour white tells us, 'please do not quarrel about the way you define eternity'. Do not think you have captured the truth, standardized it, codified it. Truth is a perpetual adventure. Religion is itself a perpetual quest, so there is no such thing as your having attained the truth. We are pilgrims, and truth cannot be regarded as having been captured by this or that particular form. The Eternal Spirit is superior to any kind of halting

definitions thereof. The white background is an illustration of that fundamental truth. We are struck by the empirical variety of religions, but if we attend to the goal, we will notice the transcendent unity of religions. By putting the white background, we try to indicate that man exists for something more than earthly existence. There is a higher purpose. His life is not to be regarded as a repetition of the mechanical round of animal existence—being born, growing up, mating, producing offspring, passing out. He has another function to fulfil. How can we live in this world with the perspective of the eternal ? We put at the top the orange colour; the colour symbolizing renunciation, the sweat of the heart. That is the only way to the goal, through suffering, through austerity, through discipline. By means of these we can live in this world with the perspective of the eternal. If we do so, it is not for withdrawing from the world; it is for the purpose of building a green paradise on earth. The lowest green tells us that the fruits of contemplation and discipline are to be poured into the energy of action. The world is a rotating process. It depends on an eternal background. Man can reach the truth by discipline and suffering. If he attains it, he will make this world into a beautiful garden.

That is the heritage. It is universal. It is not a question of your belonging to this country or that country. It is a question of your cherishing these

values and the values can be cherished under whatever sky you are working, and if you are able to bring these values to bear on your daily existence, you will make a very effective contribution to the world, to the life, progress and prosperity of the people of this country.

CO-EXISTENCE*

I AM GLAD to be here today and see so many of you assembled for this function. I thought it was a reception and so the attraction of a reception when we sit down and have some tea and sandwiches must have brought you together, but I understand that receptions in this country mean speech-making.

Here there are people from different parts of the world who have all adopted this Nyasaland as their home and who are now working for the well-being and the prosperity of this country; yet when you come from different countries, you carry something of the spirit of the countries from which you come, and our Commissioner has said that you have here some settlers of Indian descent also.

India is not so much a geographical expression as an attitude of mind, an orientation, a particular outlook. Professor Childe of the University of London, writing about ancient India, makes a remark that in 3250 B.C. India confronted Egypt and Babylon with a distinctive civilization, a definite pattern of life which still endures. It is the basis, he said, of modern Indian civilization. Modern Greece is different from ancient Greece, modern Egypt is different from ancient Egypt, but modern India is

*Address at the Commissioner's Reception at the Indian Sports Club, Limbe, Nyasaland, 7 July, 1956

not fundamentally, so far as the outlook is concerned, different from ancient India.

Among the relics of the Mohenjo-Dāro and Harappa excavations you find an image of a prototype of the god Śiva seated on a lotus throne with his eyes shut, in a posture of meditation, with the animal creation around him. There you have the fundamental outlook which has dominated the spiritual landscape of the country. From the beginning it was felt that he who, by the power of his meditation, establishes supremacy over his own appetites and emotions, is greater than one who is able to win the battles of the world; in other words, self-conquest is more important than conquest of countries even. We believe that the greatest conquerors are those who overcome their enemies without the use of force.

From that time down to our own time we will find there this image of one rapt in meditation. You find it in the Upaniṣads, you find it in the Buddha. The statues of the Buddha indicate to us how he was victorious over illwill, bigotry, etc. Every generation and every part of the country produced people who incarnated this ideal.

Religion is not for us so much doctrinal conformity or ceremonial piety as the re-changing of our nature, the transforming of our personality—becoming something different from what we are. It is a participation in the ultimate mystery of the world.

When we identify religion with such an outlook, doctrinal rivalries and credal conflicts become irrelevant. From that day to this day there have been different pathways recognized for the realization of the religious goal which is the fulfilment of our true nature. So the idea of a peaceful, active, mutually educative co-existence has been with us for ages. When it is said that India is a secular State, it does not mean that India worships material comforts and luxuries or does not recognize that there are higher laws of the universe than those which govern the physical world of space and time. It only means it does not stand for any particular religion but deals impartially with all religions; that it adopts the philosophy of active co-existence among the religions of the world. That is the meaning of a secular State.

So long as we regard doctrines as pathways to the realization of the Supreme and not final statements of the truth, there will be no conflicts, disputations, or controversies. Religious wars arise when we exalt dogma and regard it as infallible. The Aryan and the Dravidian, the Hindu and the Buddhist, all the races which poured into the country have been, relatively speaking, welded into a corporate unity.

There are other views, also, which have come down to us. If we turn to the West, we find the distinction between the Greek and the Barbarian with which European history started. Actually,

however, Greece acquired a great deal from the 'Barbarian' countries of Egypt, Babylon and Iran. If we go a step forward, we will find that Justinian closed down the schools of Athens, thinking Greece and Galilee could not co-exist, but we know that Greece has entered into the history of Christianity. Augustine is full of Plato and Plotinus; Aquinas is full of Aristotle. Again, we have the philosophy of either this or that when we come to the Crusades; either the Cross or the Crescent. We have discovered that the Cross and the Crescent could live together, educating each other. The modern European Renaissance is the product of the enlightenment brought to Europe by the Arab translators of the great Greek works, and those Muslim theologians, Averroes and Avicenna, have contributed a great deal to the development of Christian thought. We had centuries of conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants. Again, it was thought either this or that. We find now that the Catholics and the Protestants can live together, can be of assistance to each other and can educate each other. We have the conflicts between the blocs today. We are now thinking of having a policy of active co-existence. Whereas the tradition of either this or that has led to conflicts in the world, the tradition of this and that is likely to bring about a healing of the nations of the world. The tradition of 'either-or' is derived from the acceptance of doctrinal exclusiveness, a kind of finality that we

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have attained the truth and we have got it and it is necessary for us to dispel the darkness among those who have not found the truth.

The philosophy of this and that indicates that God has not left Himself without a witness among any people, whoever they may be. They will all stand as witness to the working of God's love. There are no people who have been orphaned or left forlorn in the world. The Quran says: 'Unto every people did we send a messenger, to teach them to worship God.' So, if we adopt the policy of the universality of the Supreme, from it follows the philosophy of active co-existence.

Today, we have come to realize the unwisdom of the policy of this or that. There was a time when military methods were able to result in success for our views. Those days are over. An aerial bombardment today makes no distinction between the combatant and the civilian. A thermo-nuclear bombardment will not make any distinction of nations. We have, therefore, come to a state when it will be possible for us, by merely pressing a button, to destroy a whole continent. By trying to win leadership in the development of these diabolical weapons we are not likely to help our own views. We have come to realize that we have to live together or die together, and if we are to live together, we must have tolerance of other people's views; religious tolerance, ideological tolerance, and these are the things which have become inevitable

in the interests of self-preservation. Forgiveness is love at its highest power.

If we, therefore, wish to adopt a philosophy of active co-existence, our fundamental attitude that we are the possessors of light and others are grovelling in darkness will have to be abandoned. India has suffered on account of that policy of co-existence, but that does not matter. We are bound to suffer if we stick to truth.

The great symbol of Christianity is the Cross where Jesus suffered material defeat for the sake of spiritual victory. If we feel that we are on the right lines, it is essential for us to adopt the attitude that we do not undertake things in the hope of succeeding but we undertake things because they are right.

Here, then, in this Federation you have men of different communities, of different races, of different religions all brought together. If we adopt the philosophy of either this or that, it means conflict, chaos and anarchy. If we adopt the philosophy of this and that, then each one can go his way, adopt his views and make his contribution to the upbuilding of this country. We will then have a great future when the different communities will make their own contributions to the wealth of this land.

I have no doubt that the philosophy which now dominates this country is the philosophy which does not believe in either extermination or segrega-

tion, or assimilation, but it does believe in achieving racial harmony, and if racial harmony is to be achieved, your whole outlook on life must be different. You must respect every individual. He may not be as great as we are; he may not have the intellectual achievement or the educational gifts or the vast experience which some of us may claim to possess, but that does not mean that the unsuspected possibilities and potentialities of people have all been explored. There is so much unknown to us that may yet come out.

I do hope this land will adopt a philosophy which says: 'God is assisting everyone to grow to his fullest stature, and it is our duty to provide the atmosphere and circumstances which will help each individual to grow to his utmost.' The world as a whole demands the philosophy of co-existence, not merely passive, neutral co-existence, but active, mutual, educative co-existence.

Military solutions to political problems are good for nothing. Ultimately they will leave bitterness behind. Political solutions will have to be devised for political problems, and I do hope that those who are in authority in this country will work towards racial harmony in this great land.

ON ARRIVAL AT DJAKARTA

26 September, 1956

It is a joy for me to be in this beautiful and live country. For a visitor from India, your country has a great appeal. Indonesia and India have not been strangers to each other. Our countries have had long and intimate connections for centuries. In recent times our two peoples passed through many trials and tribulations. A few years ago we both emerged from colonial subjection. We are now attempting to break with the misery and poverty of the past, raise living standards and remove the slums and build a stable Welfare State on principles of democracy. We had the honour of receiving recently in India your Vice-President and your Prime Minister and have learnt to appreciate the great efforts you are making to make your State a liberal, Welfare State. We are engaged in a similar effort, and if our efforts are to succeed, we must bring new minds to bear on the new tasks that face us. Thus we are bound by ties of past history and present endeavour. I have the great privilege to convey to you the friendly greetings of our people and their best wishes for your progress and prosperity.

BOROBUDUR*

IT IS AN HONOUR for me to be here, make your acquaintance and see something of the great temple of Borobudur, the monastery on the hill, one of the greatest Buddhist temples in the world. The huge temple rises on a grassy slope, massive and still, spread over many acres. Mounting up in nine terraces to a height of well over 100 feet, the temple is capped by a huge, inverted bell-shaped dome called a stupa.

The fortunes of this temple must induce in us a mood of detachment. The temple was built over a thousand years ago when a great civilization flourished in Central Java. Thousands of builders worked in a spirit of devotion and dedication. They carved the terraces with innumerable beautiful figures of the Buddha and the events of his life. The temple was completed and soon Central Java became deserted. As the years passed, the jungle advanced on Borobodur, creepers spread up the terraces, trees grew up all round and the temple was lost to memory. An English explorer, Sir Stamford Raffles, at the beginning of the last century stumbled on this monument buried deep in the forest. It is today restored, though an overwhelming loneliness seems to hang over the temple. It is something almost outside of time.

* Speech at Djogjakarta, 27 September, 1956

Even as this great temple is restored, your country is being reconstructed. Djogjakarta was the first capital of the Republic of Indonesia. It was the centre of your political struggle. The Parliament of the Republic met here. Your President was sworn and installed here. It has become the centre of a great university where the teaching is through the medium of *bahasa Indonesia*. Djogjakarta is the centre of your great culture, of your drama and dance, of your handsome silver work. It is my hope and wish that even as the Borobudur temple was under an eclipse for some centuries and has now come into its own, your great nation which was under subjection for some centuries may thrive and flourish for the good of the Indonesian people and the world at large.

VISIT TO BALI

28 September, 1956

WE HAVE HEARD a great deal about the religion and art of Bali and it is, therefore, a matter of great satisfaction to me that I am able to visit this island and make my acquaintance with the people of Bali. There is a similarity between Bali and India so far as social customs and laws, religious practices and amusements go. The Balinese believe that beauty and art nourish the soul and spirit even as food nourishes the body. Each man here is an artist and each woman a dancer.

This island has preserved for centuries Hindu religion and culture. The Balinese ceremonies and festivals, their beliefs in karma and rebirth remind us of Hinduism. Cremation is the usual form of disposal of the dead.

The Republic of Indonesia, being a democracy, has allowed a variety of customs and cultures to flourish. That is why we have in this country a brightness and loveliness, a constant play of colour in their religious and artistic life, which are not to be found in standardized nations. I do hope that the genius of the Bali people will never be overwhelmed.

PARTNERS IN PEACE*

ON THE EVE of my departure from Indonesia, I should like to express to your Vice-President, your Government and the very friendly, smiling people of Indonesia my deep thanks for the excellent time, instruction and entertainment they provided for me in this my all too brief visit to this country. I have visited some parts of your country and am leaving with warm impressions of your past achievements and future possibilities.

We, in Indonesia and India, happen to possess common springs of inspiration. Your pre-historic culture has been greatly influenced by the waves of Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim thought. Your life, thought and art manifest the influence of these great waves. Yet out of all these you have developed your own Indonesian culture, which is distinctive, interesting and attractive.

Besides, there is a kinship among all those who suffered in recent times from foreign domination and freed themselves from it. We rejoice at the attainment of your freedom and the way in which you have been helping other struggling nations. From the time in September 1950 your Republic was recognized as a full member of the United Nations, India and Indonesia have been working together for the achievement of freedom by other

*Broadcast on Djakarta Radio, 29 September, 1956

peoples suffering from colonial subjection. In the Bandung Conference held in April 1955, leaders of 29 nations representing more than half the population of the world met and took a decisive stand against colonialism in all its forms.

The directives in our Constitution and your Pañchaśīla have much in common: (1) Belief in God, (2) Nationalism, (3) Democracy, (4) Social Justice, and (5) Humanity.

Your first principle makes out that in the task of rebuilding your country, you recognize that there are other laws than those which govern the physical universe. It is an act of faith with you to work for the rebirth of your nation. This is the task assigned to you in the divine economy and you wish to accomplish it in a spirit of humility and dedication. You believe in God who is the one God of the whole universe. He is not a Hindu God or a Muslim God or a Christian God, but the one Supreme Lord of the Universe approached differently by different people. You allow freedom of belief and practice. The Muslim and the Christian, the Hindu and the Buddhist live here in peaceful co-existence and friendship. Only all citizens should feel the inspiring presence of the Supreme, look upon this soil as holy ground and their work as a sacred duty. While we do our duty, we must leave the issue to the vision and wisdom of the Supreme.

Your principle of nationalism is not aggressive

or chauvinistic. It is an endeavour to integrate your country and build its future undeterred by others. You wish to develop among the people of Indonesia, scattered over different islands, a sense of nationality, a sense of oneness, of belonging to one whole. You wish to foster the unity of your country and harmonize the different peoples, languages, customs and cultural levels. These differences were used in the past to keep you down in subjection. Diversity need not mean disunity or discord. The people must be educated politically and emotionally to feel that they are nationals of this great State and they should work together for the common good, for national welfare. Local loyalties and national responsibilities should be reconciled.

Your coat-of-arms bears the motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Jka*, unity in diversity. The ancient Greeks were a mongrel people who borrowed freely from Crete, Egypt, Phoenicia, Babylonia, Lydia and others. The British people, for example, are not a single race and their cultural tradition owes so much to so many people. They are debtors to the Greeks with their spirit of intellectual inquiry, to the Jews with their conception of one God and their passion for social righteousness, to the Romans with their love for law, to the Saxons with their sense of broad equity and to the Normans with their love of order. Into each Briton something of all these has entered and is a part of his heritage.

Take the case of Indian culture. It bears the marks of the Aryan and the Dravidian, the Hindu and the Buddhist, the Muslim and the Christian. We must listen to all the voices coming from all parts of the world though we should speak with our own voice. We must seek, examine and express our own character. Imitation should not displace free creativeness.

Freedom is possible only in a democratic society. Unfortunately, the spirit of individual liberty seems to be on the decline. Many of us have become slaves to systems, victims of orthodoxies, prisoners of organizations. The anonymous collectives prevail over the spirit of man. Democracy affirms that every man has an inner light within him and he must live his life by its guidance. Islam, for example, affirms that man does not need any intermediary priest between himself and God. This gives every man the feeling of basic human dignity. Democracy means equal opportunity for all people. The secret ballot, the free press and freedom of religious belief and practice are its expressions. The will of the people should be ascertained by peaceful democratic processes.

Political violence is inconsistent with democracy. It is an evasion of democracy, an escape from it. Each one of us has it in his power to shape the future to some small extent. We must contribute to the upbuilding of society by our work and effort, by our sweat and toil. At a time when the decencies

of life are being assailed from many quarters, we must stress the freedom of the human spirit. Democracy means restraint, discipline. We should subordinate our self-interest to the public good. An unclean government, a divided leadership make for instability. *dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ hato hanti.* Your future is assured if you have an honest, effective and patriotic Government.

So long as we have illiteracy, ill-health, intellectual serfdom and spiritual slavery, we have no true liberty. We must remove these impediments to human life and raise the quality of human living. We desire better standards of living. Advanced nations have become prosperous and powerful because of their technical know-how, scientific and technological development. Wretchedness is not a law of nature or the will of God. We should learn all that is essential for the improvement of the material conditions of life, for freeing our world from want. We are interested in results, not ideologies. Socialism is democracy in action. In a Welfare State, physical health, social security and cultural progress should not be left to chance. They must be organized by the Government. If people visit us, they should do so not because of our ancient monuments but because of our present achievements. We are not to be treated as archaeological curiosities or museum pieces. Time does not stand still and we have to modernize ourselves.

Thanks to the advances of science and technology and the growing inter-dependence of nations, we are moving towards a world order based on freedom for all, peaceful settlement of international disputes and the liberty of the individual subject. India and Indonesia are not neutral with regard to freedom and colonialism, peace and war, democracy and dictatorship.

We are convinced that any war in the present context will be disastrous to humanity. We believe that freedom and peace are inseparable. As we are anxious to avoid war and as peace can be based only on justice, we wish to see all subject peoples liberated. We want freedom not only for ourselves but for all others. A happy mankind is the ultimate end of human development. We are committed to the establishment of a human society in which there will be no discrimination based on race or colour. We wish to work for a genuine, all-inclusive fellowship based on economic prosperity, social happiness and cultural greatness. We believe in a partnership among nations in which disputes are settled by conciliation, not coercion; understanding, not violence.

In all fundamental matters, in domestic policies and international affairs, we seem to think alike. The same principles guide us in our political life and behaviour. We are natural partners in world affairs. By working together we may help each other and help the progress of humanity. Long live

the Republic of Indonesia. May the Garuda, the emblem of your State, carry you safely and speedily to your goal.

FAREWELL RADIO SPEECH AT TOKYO*

8 October, 1956

I HAVE SPENT a delightful week in your beautiful and great country, thanks to the warm and generous hospitality of your Government and people. I have met some of your leaders of thought and public life. I have felt the subdued spirit of confidence in the future with which your people and your Government are working.

We, in India, have always had a great admiration for your people and their achievements. You were the first Asian nation to acquire technical modernity and become a modern nation. You were an inspiration to many other countries of Asia who lost their independence through their political apathy, lack of organization, petty jealousies of rival interests, lack of unity and resistance to necessary changes. Unfortunately, when your policies took a wrong turn, you suffered a setback. Today you stand at the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. You have adopted a Constitution which, when implemented, will make you a prosperous, progressive, democratic welfare State.

*This speech could not be delivered on account of a sudden call from India.

A new Constitution will have no life without a new birth, without a change in the minds and hearts of the people. You are passing through the travail of a new birth. While preserving your national heritage, your distinctive way of life, you are adapting yourselves to the new world, with its demands and challenges. The new atomic age started with a portent. You were the first people in the world to suffer an attack from atomic weapons, and it is only natural that bitter experience has engendered in you a general reluctance to rearmament. In this nuclear age the military road is the wrong road. It can only lead to the death of our children and the extinction of all hope. If war occurs again on the scale to which we are accustomed, with the weapons which we are assiduously preparing, not only will society as we know it disintegrate but even life on our planet may be annihilated. We cannot accept war as an intrinsic part of human nature. That would be to acquiesce fatalistically in our own destruction. We must take another road leading to a better world than any that has existed in the past. If you, with your discipline and devotion, loyalty and idealism take to it, you will have a great future. We are convinced that you will attain an eminent position in the world and be a source of great strength to the community of nations. Your past is not only a memory but a concrete part of your life. You have learnt that nationalism is not enough. You have made your cities of Hiroshima

and Nagasaki international cultural centres to promote the cause of world peace.

All nations in the world require to pass through a rebirth, through a vast moral revolution. A civilization is safe when its different elements, economic and political, ethical and social, artistic and spiritual, what are called in India *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* are in balance or harmony, even as an individual is said to be integrated when his animal, human and spiritual interests are held in harmony. When any one of them preponderates to such an extent that it crushes the others, the principle of unity is broken, disequilibrium starts, discord sets in and the civilization breaks down. During the last few centuries, the economic, the material, the technological approach to life has been steadily rising and a mechanical view of life is becoming predominant. The Welfare State is being interpreted as a material Welfare State. A demand for higher wages is not wrong. Poverty is not essential for spiritual elevation. Wealth is not a drag on spiritual life. What is of concern is the gradual substitution of material values, of mass and quantity for standards of quality. Size and speed are material values; art, literature and religious life are spiritual values. A mass civilization has the tendency to crush the individual, reduce him to the average and produce a level of mediocrity. Education becomes an instrument for training docile, passive, obedient servants of a bureaucracy ready to accept



Arrival in Moscow, 15 June, 1956

With Marshal Bulganin and Mr N. S. Khruschev in Moscow



With President Zapotocky of Czechoslovakia
at State Reception, Prague, 7 June, 1956





With the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia
on arrival in Prague, 6 June, 1956



Receiving an Honorary Degree of the Free University of Brussels, 4 June, 1956

Arrival at Salisbury, Central African Federation, July, 1956



whatever is handed out, from philosophy to aspirin tablets. This tyranny is more crushing and demoralizing than any political or religious despotism. It destroys the root of all aspiration and freedom.

Your country has been famous for its temples and lovely inns, for the charm and courtesy of your people, and for their smiling tradition of living. Your people have made outstanding contributions to mathematics and the physical and biological sciences. If you are to continue these great services to humanity, the freedom of the individual spirit has to be preserved. For, we owe the masterpieces of art and literature, the discoveries of science to the solitary geniuses who work in their cells and cloisters with concentration of purpose and intellectual vigour. The sanctity of the individual is the basis of democracy and the fundamental principle of all religions.

Our two countries have had intimate cultural relations for centuries. Buddhism happens to be the main faith of your people, though other religions also have their followers. It insists on silent meditation, *dhyāna*. Religion is an inner change of consciousness, a revolution in mind, an intensity of understanding. The Buddha, whose name is truth, *saccanāma*, asks us to practise universal love. If we are not to destroy ourselves we must live like members of a single family. We should acknowledge every man as our brother, for there are no strangers in the world. *karuṇā* or compassion enables us to

bear and forbear, to suffer injury without being maimed thereby. Man alone, among the creatures of the world, is capable of compassion, endurance and sacrifice. Courage, honour and sacrifice have been the glory of your past. In the new world these qualities are to be used not in warring with other nations but in co-operating with other peoples, in fighting the evils of human life, disease, poverty, famine, crime and, indeed, war itself. These evils spring from our own nature. That is why we are asked to develop understanding, *prajñā*, and practise compassion, *karuṇā* or love. To love men is to see in them not competitors or rivals or obstacles to one's advance but co-heirs of the grace of life, fellow-members of the spiritual household. It is to accept them as they are with all their faults in the faith and hope of what they may yet become.

In the great problems of life, we should not take upon ourselves all the burdens of the universe. We should do our duty and leave the results to the Divine Providence in whom we profess to have confidence. Our two countries have many affinities of thought and aspiration. I do hope that in years to come our mutual relations, which are already intimate, may grow strong and abiding.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION, BENGAL

GOLDEN JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

17 March, 1956

I AM HAPPY to be here and take part in the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the National Council of Education, Bengal. The fifty years from 1906 to 1956 have been an eventful period in the history of our country, and Bengal has contributed very effectively to our many-sided renaissance. Its contributions to art and literature, politics and social reform, religion and philosophy have been outstanding. The people of Bengal have been distinguished by their intellectual vigour, emotional intensity and sacrificial devotion to noble causes. In this National Council the torch of freedom was kept burning in the days of darkness and subjection.

The movement for liberation from alien control had different aspects. This National Council of Education is one expression of our endeavour to free ourselves from alien control. Many eminent leaders of Bengal were associated with this Council, Rabindranath Tagore, Aurobindo Ghosh, Asutosh Chaudhuri, Gurudas Banerjee, Rash Behari Ghosh, Surendranath Banerjee, among others, and they took part in the establishment and development of this Council. Its aim was 'to

organize a system of education, literary, scientific and technical, on national lines and under national control.'

The prevalent system of education suffered from two serious defects, that it was mainly literary in character and that it ignored the national tradition. It is relatively inexpensive to train students in arts, law and commerce, but it costs a great deal to train them in sciences, engineering and technology which are essential for the development of our resources and raising our standards of living. The National Council tried to correct this imbalance. The most valuable contribution the National Council has made to the industrial development of our country has been in the fields of engineering and technical education. Though the students trained here had not the advantage of Government recognition and patronage, by the quality of their work they established a reputation for themselves. Their training was recognized by the Government of the country and universities abroad, like Harvard, Yale and Michigan. The Council had a comprehensive scheme of education in all stages, primary, secondary and collegiate, and in the different branches of learning. The mother-tongue was used as the medium of instruction.

Though the main emphasis here was on engineering and technology, there was provision for the compulsory study of history, politics and literature. No one can be said to be truly educated if his

knowledge is limited to one special branch. The evils of specialization can be combated only by a course in what is now called general education.

There have been in the past glamorous and powerful States; when they were separated from their roots, they became petrified. They swirled through the spaces of history like brilliant phenomena and burnt themselves out like meteors since they were torn away from the fire that generated and fed them. The National Council of Education was, therefore, anxious that its students should be given a national outlook, educated in the national spirit. When we speak of national education, it does not mean that subjects like physics and chemistry, engineering and technology, change with the boundaries of nations. It means that there is a national heritage, a tradition of values into which the students should be initiated. India is not a geographical abstraction but a living spirit. The outlook associated with this country has been a spiritual one, that there are higher laws of the universe than those studied by sciences and technology, that the world is more than what we see, feel, touch and measure.

The results of science have been so impressive in their practical applications that we are tempted to believe that the material world ruled by its laws is the only world that exists. The changes that have been effected by science in the last fifty years have been greater than those which took place in the last

three or four thousand years. Radio, telephone, aeroplane, penicillin, plastics, high explosive shell and the atom bomb, whether they work for our good or evil, all stem from science. But all this does not suggest the omnipotence of matter. It discloses the omnipotence of the human spirit. It is the spirit in man that has penetrated the secrets of nature. Again, the scientist, if he is to be successful, should develop the qualities of disciplined devotion and disinterestedness. He must possess tolerance, open-mindedness, freedom from prejudice and hospitality to new ideas.

Science reveals to us the inexhaustible richness of the world, its unexpectedness and wonder. Science does not profess to solve all problems. There are regions where its writ does not run. When all is said and done, the world remains a mystery. The Bhagavadgītā says:

avyaktādīni bhūtāni vyaktamadhyāni bhārata
avyakta nidhanāny eva tatra ka paridevanā.

The ultimate questions are too deep or mysterious for science. We should recognize that we understand and control only a tiny fraction of the universe.

A scientific study of the world does not give us a complete knowledge of the world. There are limits to the knowledge given by science. From physics to chemistry, from chemistry to biology, from biology to psychology, from psychology to logic, ethics and aesthetics, we seem to have an unbroken, continuous, logical chain, a series of

causes and effects ending up with parliamentary governments and large universities. But the mystery of the emergence of life from a non-living environment, of consciousness from an unconscious environment, the emergence of the ideas of truth, goodness and beauty from an environment which does not have them are blank spaces in our knowledge which cannot be filled. There are problems like the relation of body and mind, the nature of self-consciousness which are puzzles for science. Belief in a realm of spirit is not based on the gaps in knowledge but on the sense of mystery in the very heart of creation, inherent in the way in which the world works, obeying a certain order and yet emerging into novelties. God does not reveal Himself in nature and history by fits, only in crises and catastrophes. Where scientific knowledge ends and the realm of mystery begins may shift, but there are two spheres, one capable of scientific explanation and the other not, which will always remain. There is a mystery in the heart of the world. To deny it is not to destroy it. We cannot weigh and measure the beauty of *Meghadūta* or the value of saintliness. The world of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, beauty and ugliness, is different from the world of science. The world of scientific facts and the world of values are two different worlds. They belong to one whole controlled by a presence greater than we are and is called Absolute Reality. Towards it we have a feeling of awe and

humility and we should try to act in this world in conformity with the spiritual direction of the universe. Religion is right belief, right feeling and right action. It is all the three. It is not intellectual conviction, emotional ecstasy, or social service. It is all the three. The passage from the intellectual to the spiritual is not a quantitative accumulation but a qualitative leap. The transition from *vijñāna* to *ānanda* is a leap from one orbit to another.

A scientific attitude requires us to be open-minded in regard to different facts and values. Man's awareness of himself, as living in a world which is at once terrifying and fascinating, his feeling of awe and reverence, humility and joy, are basic experiences which religion studies. They are derived from a sense of the holy. We cannot take a part of our experience and make it the whole. Nor can we mix up scientific descriptions of facts with speculative hypotheses. Marxist sociology or Freudian psychology mixes up facts with interpretations.

If, in spite of the great knowledge we have accumulated, we are still in a perilous state, in an unhappy predicament, it is because we are indifferent to the higher laws of the universe. What is it that prevents the use of the great inventions for making the world into a happier and better place than it is ? The passions of the human heart, stupidity, cussedness, vileness and wildness. We must tame the savageness of man. Even if a nuclear war is prevented, without sufficient progress in

human nature, we will stagger to a stand-still, a stalemate. It is here that the tradition of our country is of value. We must restore the truths of spirit to the central place in the minds of men. They must transform us, give us liberality, understanding, freedom. The minds and hearts of people require to be altered. We must be able to make the right choice. This depends on the perceptions and ideas of men and women, on the moral judgments of the community, on the inner compulsions which control us. We must train not only the intellect but bring grace into the heart of man. *tejasvināvadhītam astu*. If we are truly spiritual, we will cut off with a drastic hand so much that has come down to us in the name of religion which is repugnant to our mind and heart. I sometimes feel that no people preached truth more vigorously and practised it less effectively.

In another sense national education should equip us to act as citizens of this great country which stretches from the Himalayas to Kanyā Kumārī, from Cutch to Assam. Our great leaders have impressed on us the concept of the unity of the nation. Our epics, our literary classics, our religious pilgrimages proclaim the unity of the country. Aśoka's edicts, for example, are found in all parts of the country, from Travancore and Madras in the South to Delhi and Takṣaśilā in the North. From the beginning of our history we have been a people pledged to peace and goodwill to all. The Aśokan lions are the watchers of the four quarters and his

dharmacakra symbolizes the triumph of virtue over vice. In a reborn India we have revived these ancient symbols. Our laboratories established in different parts of the country, our cultural festivals point to the ideal of oneness of our country. They warn us against the danger of breaking up the nation into fragments. Across the centuries of our history are written the evils of internal clashes, racial and religious, linguistic and regional. They brought us shame and subjection. Even the partition of our country was the result of our defective sense of nationhood. The strength of our country is in proportion to its unity. Your lives should be clean, noble and dedicated to selfless work.

JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY

FIRST CONVOCATION

18 March, 1956

I AM GLAD to be here and address the first Convocation of the Jadavpur University. When the National Council of Education was formed, it was expected that it would 'lay the foundations of a national university'. Today you must be happy that that expectation is fulfilled and you have now a unitary teaching University.

A college does not become a university simply because we change the name, make the Principal the Vice-Chancellor and the Superintendent the Registrar. The change of name must imply a change of character. To deserve the name of a university, there are certain minimum requirements. A university should make provision for advanced study and research in the subjects taught. We must have professors who have done outstanding research work and are able to guide others. For this they require detachment and freedom from the worries of daily existence. It is not necessary for academic men to live in luxury; but they must be able to live in comfort. The world has become so hurried and so insistent that the pursuit of science and scholarship has ceased to be a leisured pursuit, bringing its own reward and has

become instead a breathless chase after material rewards. The highest of all pleasures is the feeling that we have added something, however small it may be, to the sum of human knowledge, of having assisted, even if only a little, the progress of humanity. I hope you will have limited numbers and adequate staff and of quality here. Intimate fellowship of students and teachers is possible only under these conditions.

A university should not be a technical institute. It is good to know that you will have colleges for arts and sciences and the students will get liberal education. The students should be not only intellectually competent and technically skilled but also civilized in their emotions and refined in their purposes. Only then will they have a liberal outlook, develop compassion and understanding.

Nations become back-numbers if they do not reckon with the development of the times. We suffered defeat in the past through our scientific and technical backwardness. Our problems are modern and our methods cannot be primitive and archaic. Today the methods of peace and war have both altered basically. If we are to grow industrially and increase productivity, we have to think in an ordered way. Other countries may give us guidance but we have ultimately to depend on ourselves. Even advanced nations like America and the Soviet Union are entering a new age, the age of the atom, and are re-thinking their economic, industrial and military policies.

We are pledged to the effecting of social and economic revolution by democratic methods. We must avoid concentration of power in private hands, effect more equitable distribution and disperse social benefits. We are not doctrinaire in our approach, not prisoners of any rigid doctrine; our approach is pragmatic. We wish to gain our objectives without encroaching on individual liberties. The dignity of the human individual is the central principle of democracy. It is the teaching of all religions and is embodied in our Constitution.

The great achievements of science seem to suggest that there is a law of necessity such as governs the physical world in historical affairs. Historical processes are represented as the outcome of superhuman or impersonal forces working independently of the wishes and efforts of individuals. Three centuries ago, the French Catholic writer Bossuet stated that the concatenation of events which is history is ruled by God's secret decrees. If we say that we are not able to see the decrees of God in the ways of men, Bossuet remarks: 'How the action of our liberty is comprehended within the decrees of Divine Providence remains hidden to us mortals.'

I do not think that divine dialectic or scientific determinism is adequate to explain historical events. Events do not take their course independent of human control. We see in history the play of the contingent, the unpredictable. From the time of Aristotle, a view has prevailed that events move by an imma-

nent impulse towards a *telos* or end. This purpose does not work out automatically. It is thwarted by and has to struggle against many forces. The course of history has many blind alleys and set-backs, but all the same it moves on. The pace is determined by man's effort. If civilizations decline, there is no necessity about it. It is the result of short-comings not decreed by any laws. They are human failures. Man has the freedom to respond to the challenges which life presents. If the people lose their flexibility of mind, suffer from exhaustion of spirit, they become incapable of creative effort. The future of our country as of human civilization is an open question. Progress is not inevitable. A determinist view of history saps the sense of individual responsibility. It engenders acquiescence in uncontrollable forces and removes the sense of choice with its feelings of hope and despair from human life. In the making of history, man has a real part. He can make a choice from a number of possible alternative developments. Even in personal life, each individual should regard himself as free, as capable of doing something original. What man has done, he can undo. Freedom and necessity are bound together. They condition one another. When things happen, we may relate them to the past; till they happen, we cannot foresee them. One age does not follow another in normal succession; sometimes the bond of continuity is snapped in human life; we have continuity and

innovation in history. If we deal with the laws of history and ignore the responsibility of individuals, we will get a distorted picture. There are no rigid, pre-determined patterns in history. It is true that ideas and beliefs influence men's minds and actions. They have a life of their own, get developed or distorted when they enter the world of accidents and personalities. The salvation of mankind is possible only through the efforts of individual men and women and not through the amorphous, anonymous mass.

The history of civilization is one continuous effort of man to battle with circumstance and overcome it. It centres round those great figures who dared to take up responsibility for their insights into truth, goodness and beauty, who made their own choices and decisions even at the peril of their lives. To the extent to which we are moved by the fear of authority, by the pressure of public opinion, by the force of circumstance, our behaviour is under external pressure. Our actions are not personal in the strict sense of the term. They are not the expression of our free choice. The choices are made by others on our behalf or dictated by events. Creative responsibility is acquired painfully as we emancipate ourselves from the dominion of external forces or the passions within us. Man is not the sport or victim of circumstances. We have to struggle against superstition, ignorance, cruelty, oppression and the intransigence of fear. We have it in our

power to save our civilization by our own exertions.

Democracy is an invitation to a new life where each individual feels himself to be a responsible being, who can shape the future of the society to which he belongs. By means of democratic political arrangements, we should strive to release the creative energies of men. We cannot afford to waste a single talent, starve a single young body or stunt a single young mind.

The first democracy in the world was ancient Greece. The funeral speech of Pericles after the fall of Athens as reported by Thucydides shows the people what the beloved city had really been in the time of her greatness under her greatest leader. The ideal that Athens pursued was that of a free man, free without fear or hatred or inward slavery. The free man believes in knowledge as a guide to action, in beauty, in friendship. 'I would have you fix your eyes upon Athens day by day, contemplate her potentialities; not merely what she is but what she has the power to be, until you become her lovers. Reflect that her glory had been built up by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it. Make them your example and learn from them that the secret of happiness is Freedom and the secret of Freedom Courage.' If we wish to develop individuals who are free, strong and courageous, if we do not wish to rob man of the fire of the creative spirit, if we do not wish to strangle

the individual, we must lift from the shoulders of our people the material and social burdens they now bear. That is why a democracy cannot be content with a political form. It must acquire an economic content and social passion. Democracy is indivisible. It must be political, economic, social, cultural and religious.

In a democratic community, where all men are both the rulers and the ruled, education must be widespread and this education need not be only literary or academic. We must develop goodwill, patience and forbearance. In these days of increasing specialization and growing mental ailments a recovery of faith in the ultimate spiritual values is essential. It is the only way to develop one's inward resources. I am glad you lay stress on religious education. What is seen on the surface of history is the fruit of a deep-rooted plant, drawing its sustenance from hidden sources of spirit. If the roots of a tree get dried up, it cannot yield any fruit.

The spirit of democracy strives to free all of mankind from slavery, exploitation, fear and hunger. By extending the democratic liberties to all suffering and under-privileged nations we lay the sure foundations of peace and justice. Then out of the anguish of this world will be born a new unity of mankind, a unity in which the ideals will find safety and security.

To the graduates of this University all that I have

to say is you are fortunate that you live in a time of great challenges and great possibilities of achievement which were not given at any previous period of history. History is being made at greater speed than ever before, and if we are willing to make the effort, we can help history. You will be able to take your share in its great enterprise, if your University, loyal to its origin, has given you not only technical efficiency but moral judgment and a sense of values built for us by the great achievements of our ancestors. I dare say you have caught a little of the inspiration, genius and virtue of the heroes of the past. We lived for generations in a sheltered valley while others held the ring. We became too indulgent, too comfortable, too selfish. We thought ourselves to be a very fair people, for we never spoke well of one another. Whatever you do or say, believe in the greatness of your nation and its desire to help human welfare. I trust you will give to your generation the service of your limbs, your mind and your heart and illuminate the age ahead of you.

GOVERNMENT ĀYURVEDIC COLLEGE, PATNA*

20 March, 1956

I AM HAPPY to be here today and lay the foundation-stone of the Rajkiya Āyurved Bhavan. The very name Āyurveda points out the sanctity in which this science was held by us. We do not call it the science of disease; we call it the science of health, *ārogya-śāstra*, which we never disregard. It is generally contended that Indians were more interested in metaphysics and religion than in politics and human welfare. This is not quite correct. *dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣāṇām ārogyam mūlam uttamam*. For the practice of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, the chief basis is *ārogya*. In other words physical wellbeing, positive health is an essential prerequisite of any other kind of development, either of spiritual qualities or intellectual powers. The *Yoga Sūtra* is said to be a science of the development of spiritual powers. But it insists that physical prowess is essential. *rūpa-lāvaṇya-bala-vajrasamhananatvāni kāya-sampat*. *kāya-sampat* or physical prowess consists in the development of *rūpa* or beauty of form, *lāvaṇya* or radiance, *bala* or strength, *vajrasamhananatva*, invulnerability like a diamond. In other words, our thinkers make out that unless

*Speech at the laying of foundation of the College

the human being has a sound physical basis, it will not be possible for him to develop Yoga of either the mind or the spirit. So it cannot be argued that in our eagerness for metaphysical perfection or religious realization, we neglected the basis of all those pursuits, health and wellbeing.

Health is not merely physical fitness; it is the wealth of energy, a kind of vital dynamism. *Śarīra* or body is said to be *dharma-sādhana*, an instrument for the practice of dharma. This is not possible if we merely avoid ailments. There must be positive overflow, so to say, of physical energy. We must not merely keep well but use our health as a means for the development of higher pursuits.

In the ancient world, in every civilization, there was a science of medicine. It is not our peculiarity. Every great civilization tried to devise a scheme by which ailments could be controlled and prevented. We also had that. In the ancient days, our systems of medicine and surgery were not deficient. The other day I was reading a book on the *Story of Medicine*, and the author, Dr Kenneth Walker, makes out that it is wonderful to know how so many different surgical operations were devised by the ancient Indians including what is now called Rhino-plasty. They used to take a flap of the forehead and stick it to the nose to correct its deficiencies. That kind of plastic surgery was employed in our country in the ancient days. Many things were devised; many surgical instruments were used and

many surgical operations performed. But, unfortunately, as in many other spheres of our activity, our development got arrested. It came to a standstill. People who were practising these things were content with merely repeating what had been handed down to them, but were not making any progress, with the result, Āyurveda fell on evil days. Today we are having a revived interest in the development of the science of Āyurveda. It is good to know that we are establishing in different parts of our country institutions like this. The Government will do its duty, but the practitioners of Āyurveda owe a responsibility to the country and to themselves.

Once upon a time medical discoveries were based on accurate observations. Today we must again get back that spirit of mental adventure and research and make this science modern in every sense of the term. Our mathematics, our philosophy, our other systems are getting mixed up with the modern world. They have entered into the stream of world thought. They may be affected by them and they may affect them. It is essential, therefore, that if Āyurveda is to be brought back to itself, Government patronage is not enough. The responsibility of the practitioners of Āyurveda is great and they must have open-mindedness, integrity and mental enterprise. They must find out what is living and what is dead, discard what is dead, keep up what is alive and make Āyurveda into a live system. It is

the duty which they owe to themselves, to the science which they practise. If Āyurveda is to receive due recognition, if we are to make advances in the system, it will not do merely for the Government to come forward and give you some kind of patronage. There is a great responsibility on those who practise the system. Those who will be educated here, I hope, will be modernist in their outlook.

There is a story which comes down to us from ancient mythology. Uṣas, Eos, as the Greeks called her, fell in love with a mortal. Then she went up to the gods and said: 'Pray, confer immortality on my lover.' They said, 'Yes.' Later on, the man grew old, grew senile, decayed and asked for death. Then Eos said: 'I forgot one thing; when I asked the gods to confer on you immortality, I forgot to ask them for the condition of immortality, namely, perpetual youth.' We can be immortal only if we are perpetually young. Because Eos did not ask for perpetual youth, her lover became decrepit, old and longed to die. So if a system has to endure, it must be perpetually young and ready to change. In other words, it must be capable of accepting new ideas, have the resilience of mind which the young have, have the openness, flexibility and spirit of adventure by which they accept what is given to them and transform it out of recognition. So if Āyurveda is to live, mere aid will not do, creative work is also necessary. You must have that spirit by which you can explore fields unknown and make

the science a dynamic one. I hope those who will be taught in this institution and the teachers themselves will carry out that essential truth of all life that if you get petrified, stagnant, you die. If you are alive, you will be perpetually moving and growing. Unless you preserve that element of growth and youth, vitality, I do not think there is much future for Āyurveda. I, therefore, am anxious that in these institutions, the spirit of youth, the spirit of open-mindedness, the spirit of adventure will be kept up. With these words I have great pleasure in laying the foundation-stone of your college.

RAJENDRA SURGICAL BLOCK, PATNA

OPENING CEREMONY

21 March, 1956

IT IS A VERY GREAT PLEASURE for me to be here today, and to declare open this Rajendra Surgical Block. Rajen Babu is your most illustrious citizen. He is the first citizen of our country, and also the first gentleman of our country. He is a soul of simple goodness and gentleness. Anyone who gets to know him will feel the kind of innocent benevolence he extends to all those who happen to be in his company. Nothing will please him more than his association with an institution dedicated to the relief of sick and suffering humanity.

We have had a good deal said here of our philosophy and practice of medicine and surgery. We have a saying that *aṇḍa* and *brahmāṇḍa*, the microcosm and the macrocosm are akin to each other; as above, so below. If the world consists of the different layers of materiality, minerals, metals, etc.; vitality, plants; mentality, animals; intellectuality, human beings; and spirituality, Godmen : these five ingredients of matter, life, consciousness, intellectuality and spirituality enter into the nature of man. Man is a replica of these five layers of *anna*, *prāṇa*, *manas*, *vijñāna*, and *ānanda*. In other words,

the human individual is not to be regarded as merely a physical body. A doctor who knows his profession treats not the disease but the patient. He knows not merely the science of medicine and surgery but the art of influencing the psychology of the patient. He must bring to bear not only the recuperative powers of the body, but the resilience of the mind and the faith of spirit. Rajyapalji referred to the growth of mental ailments in the world. We live in an age of great hurry and great speed. Men have lost their inward resources. They merely reflect, like a set of mirrors, opinions which they get from the outside. When they get a little leisure, they turn to material diversions from outside rather than to inward resources. In other words, this internal vacuum is responsible for mental and nervous troubles. The cure for this is not so much treatment by medicine and surgery but a recovery of faith in the ultimate goodness, truth, and decency of things. If we are able to recover that faith, if we are able to live in this world with our consciousness centred in the ultimacy of spirit, many of the problems to which we are subject today may be got over. Our people were regarded as aspiring after metaphysical insight and religious bliss, but we seem to forget that it never occurred to them to equate eternal life with either the surrender of the mind or the sacrifice of the body. When the Upaniṣad writer was asked to define what is meant by spiritual life or life eternal, he gave the answer, that it consists

of the play of the vital organism, the satisfaction of mind, the abundance of tranquillity of spirit. Body, mind and spirit must be integrated and they must lead to a harmonious, developed life. If we get that, we have life eternal. That is the definition which was given to us centuries ago by the writers of Upaniṣads, and it is that definition we have to bring back, so far as our present practice is concerned.

In the old days the great doctors were called priest-physicians. They were medicine-men. They were treating not only our body, but influencing our mind and our spirit. We may not like the name 'priest-physicians', but they were treating the whole human being and not merely the disease. The disease is a symptom, it is the lack of ease, lack of wholeness, lack of health, so far as the individual is concerned, and we have to treat the individual and not merely the disease which is just an outside symptom.

Hospitals were built in this country ages ago. Aśoka's edicts describe hospitals for the treatment of animals, and the treatment of men, *paśu cikitsa*, *puruṣa cikitsa*. He established hospitals all over the country for the treatment of animals also. A recent historian of medicine, Dr Kenneth Walker, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, England, who is interested in our thought and the way in which our thought could be utilized for the purpose of giving a sense of security in this age of loneliness, anxiety and insecurity, writes in his

book on the *Story of Medicine*: 'Ancient Indian medicine was strongest in surgery and, strange to say, weakest in that subject on which surgery is based, Anatomy. The plastic surgeon of today still refers to the Indian method of Rhino-plasty; in other words, to the method of turning down a flap of skin from the forehead, a procedure adopted by the ancient Indian surgeons when they wanted to cover a gross defect in a patient's nose. It was in surgery that the ancient Hindus excelled. Śuśruta describes nearly a hundred different surgical instruments used by himself and his colleagues. Caesarean section was performed in ancient India as well as operations for the removal of calculi.' He continues: 'In the Āyurveda we find a description of the vascular system which strongly suggests that the Hindus of this period anticipated Harvey's discovery of the circulation of blood. The Āyurveda also contains the highly intelligent observations that plague is likely to appear when many dead rats are found lying about, and that malaria is caused by mosquitoes. It gives a description of phthisis, a disease characterized by persistent cough, fever and the expectoration of blood. Over seven hundred medicinal plants are mentioned in the great Hindu work on Āyurveda and information is given about the dispensing of a number of useful ointments, inhalations and sneezing powders.'[1]

I am not competent to assess the accuracy or say

[1] pp. 28-29

anything about this. It is for you to study Indian medicine and surgery and assess the value of our achievements, but I wish to say this—with the facilities then available, with the conditions of the time, our medical men and our surgeons were able to keep abreast of the work which was happening in other parts of the world also. They were not inferior. But a time came when this progress was arrested and we were left behind. Therefore, I feel that our surgeons of today, given the opportunity, will not only be able to treat cases that are brought to their notice, but will do something in their life which will outlast their life. They will be able not merely to do the ordinary treatment, important as it is, but to discover new methods of treatment, devise new apparatus by which they could feel that they are the worthy descendants of people who, ages ago, with inadequate facilities and imperfect conditions were able to bring about things which astounded the world. In the science of medicine and surgery we have not been able to make as much impression on the outside world as we have done in some other subjects, like physics, chemistry, etc. I do not believe that our medical men are in any sense inferior to the men who are now devoting themselves to the study of physics, chemistry, mathematics, etc. I feel they have the ability. If we provide them with the facilities which are required and if we imbue them with the fervour that he who adds a little to the store of human knowledge does

much more than those who devise this or that particular technical item, if we are able to provide the proper atmosphere, I have no doubt that our surgeons will not be behind the surgeons of the other parts of the world. My anxiety is that in this surgical block, which I am opening today, facilities may be provided, as your Minister has just said, for research work. Any amount of money spent on that purpose is well worth spending. It will be returned to us in a great measure and we would put ourselves on the map of the world of medicine and surgery. It is no use our depending on outside resources. We cannot for all time indent upon foreign experts and foreign aid. Our men have the brains, have the capacity; why not give them the facilities necessary to make them first-class surgeons, who can compete with the best in the world ?

It is my hope, it is my desire that this Institution should not only heal suffering people but help to bring about changes in the environment, in the health system, by which such ailments will become less and less. The day when hospitals have not very much work to do is the day to which we look forward, and I do hope that aim will be realized by those who are working in this block. I have pleasure in declaring this building open.

SEMINAR ON DRAMA, DELHI

25 March, 1956

I AM HAPPY to be here and inaugurate the Seminar on Drama. I see from your programme that you are having discussions on the state and development of drama in the various languages of our country. You will, no doubt, consider the technical problems of dramaturgy, the mechanics of writing, the place of music and dance in drama, stage scenery, the duration of the plays, stage direction and costumes. I shall content myself with a few general observations. I have neither the knowledge nor the competence to do anything more.

Last year we had the Film Seminar. While the film is a modern invention, drama has been with us for a long time past. Indian tradition preserved in the *Nāṭya-śāstra* claims for the drama a divine origin. It is said to be the fifth Veda intended to give pleasure to both eyes and ears and transmit the ultimate truths[1]. Brahmā took the element of recitation from the Ṛg Veda, song from the Sāma Veda, the mimetic art from the Yajur Veda and sentiment from the Atharva Veda. At Brahmā's bidding the Divine architect, Viśvakarman, built

[1] Cf. *sarvaśāstrārtha sampannam sarva-śilpa pradarśanam nāṭyākhyam pañcamaṁ vedam setihāsam karomy aham.*

a playhouse. In Indian drama, however, the stage properties were few and simple. We did not have much elaborate scenery but the effects were produced by gestures. Watering a plant was done by a gesture imitation of the process, which satisfied the audience. Plants were not brought on the stage and watered. Normally we have actors (*naṭa*) and actresses (*naṭī*). Sometimes a hero's part is performed by a girl.

A dramatic performance became an art when recitation, gestures, movements, dance are used to rouse sentiments in the minds of the audience. *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* says : *nāṭakaṁ iti nāṭyati vicitram rañjanāt praveśena sabhyānām hṛdayaṃ nartayati iti nāṭakam.*

Through poetry and drama, man reveals himself to himself. He mirrors his soul; he expresses the desires, the urges, the hopes, the dreams, the successes and failures in his struggle to make himself at home in the world. All literature is the expression of intensity of feeling, *vākyam rasātmakam kāvyam.* Jagannātha Pandit says: *ramaṇīyārthapratipādakam vākyam kāvyam.* Again, *kavikṛtam kāvyam. Kāvya* is of two kinds, *śrāvya* and *dṛśya.* The latter is *nāṭaka* or drama. The dramatist or the playwright delights us by the perfection of his art, its variety, its music and its mood. He can do so if he is a man of *svādhyāya* and *tapas*, of learning and intensity of spirit. If drama is to be one of the most powerful manifestations of the human mind, there must be maturity of mind and greatness of soul.

Without these we cannot win and hold the affection of people across distances of time and space. If any literary work is to have enduring quality, abiding power, the author should have magnificence of mind and intensity of vision. If we work too much on the surface, the deeper and more obscure feelings of life find no adequate expression. Rootlessness in our lives reflects itself in the lack of richness in our lives and the superficial character in our writings. Our plays may be striking and admirable in many ways but they will not touch the depths in us. They may excite a tumult in our minds but not touch the deeps. A great drama overwhelms, devastates, annihilates us and yet exalts us and makes us new.

The whole plenitude of the dramatist's inner vision is applied to the full extent of the world, to all its depths and heights. Any subject, any topic may be chosen for dramatic representation—virtue and vice, joy and sorrow, pride and prejudice. The world is complex and complicated.

kvacid vīṇāvādyam kvacid api ca hāheti ruditam
kvacin nārī ramyā kvacid api jarā-jarjara-vapuḥ
kvacid vidvad-goṣṭhī kvacid api surāmattakalaho
na jāne saṁsāraḥ kim amṛtamayaḥ kim viṣamayaḥ.

'Here the sound of *vīṇa*, there the voice of wailing; here pretty women, there tottering withered dames; here the meeting of learned men; there the brawls of the drunken. I do not know whether this world is heaven or hell.' The poet holds the mirror up to nature in all its variety.

Though we have the conflict between good and evil, the Indian view does not adopt a Manichean dualism, which believes in the ultimacy of the opposites of good and evil. Good is bound to triumph, for there is a moral government of the universe. Truth will triumph, so beauty and goodness.

Suffering is not the final end of life. That is perhaps why we do not have tragedies. There are tragic situations where man is at grips with fate, where there is an inter-play of character and circumstance, but there are no tragic endings. For the writer has faith in the ultimate decency of things.

While the dramatist shows us the heights and depths to which man can rise or fall, he induces in us sympathy for the good and hatred of the evil. He affects our feelings directly and conveys ideas indirectly. The writer does not air his views but imperceptibly changes the life. As Mammaṭa says in his *Kāvyaprakāśa*: *kāntā-sammitatayopadeśayuje*. He comments: *kānteva sarasatāpādanenābhimukhī-kṛtya rāmādivad vartitavyam na rāvaṇādivad ity upadeśaṁ ca yathāyogaṁ kaveḥ sahṛdayasya ca karotīti sarvathā tatra yatanīyam*.

An actor must be able to inspire in his audience the feelings of the characters he represents. There are some who hold that the actor should lose himself in his part; others think that he must be detached from it. By over-acting we sometimes tear passions to tatters. The actor must not be

overwhelmed by emotions but interpret them and present them in intellectual terms.[2] It is said that King Kulaśekhara of Tamilnad (twelfth century) when he heard the verse that Rāma was alone to meet the fourteen thousand demons, he became so excited that he immediately armed himself from head to foot and was about to march with all his army to meet Rāvaṇa as an ally of Rāma.

śuśrāva tam imam ślokam bhaktimān kulaśekharaḥ
caturdaśa-sahasrāṇi rakṣasām bhīma-karmaṇām
ekaś ca rāmo dharmātmā katham yuddham bhaviṣyati
asahiṣṇus tato'dharma-yuddham śighram skhalad-gatiḥ
dhanurvāṇam samādāya khaḍgam carma ca vīryavān
caturangabalopeto janasthānam kṛtatvaraḥ
tat kṣaṇe tasya pratasthe sahāyārtham hari-priyaḥ.[3]

Indian drama has a great future. After independence there is a great quickening of the human mind, a renaissance of artistic activity. We hope that lasting works may be produced in this age. Both writers and actors are found in plenty. Indians have a natural gift for acting. I see in out-of-the-way small schools and colleges young boys and girls acting with such superb skill and grace that it fills me with hope for the future of drama in our country. In all our big centres new theatres are

[2] Cf. *Mandāra-maranda*:
utpādayan sahṛdaye rasajñānam nirantaram
anukartṛ sthito yo'rtho'bhinayaḥ so'bhidhīyate.

[3] Anantācārya: *Prapannāmṛta*; Chapter 86

springing up. Your Chairman is a playwright of distinction in Telugu. Your Vice-Chairman Shrimati Kamaladevi Chattopādhyāya is the president of the Theatre Centre of India. In a theatre club, actors and writers and all those interested in drama may bring about greater understanding among theatre lovers. We may watch the theatre movements in other countries and profit from them. We must encourage artists to try new experiments and not always follow the beaten track.

Though artists are born, not made, training will help actors of both kinds. Every school and college should have a dramatic society. We must develop our drama in consistency with our temperaments and traditions. Drama is education, entertainment and recreation.

It is said that drama creates the conscience of the age. We cannot make people good by acts of parliament. Nor is it possible by constitutional provisions to remove deep-seated social prejudices. We influence social behaviour by creating public opinion. I have known many playwrights and actors who have sweltered at the task of raising the standards of behaviour in our country. I need not mention names. We will have social comedies and satires, serious dramas, shadow plays.

I hope your deliberations will rouse public interest in the theatre movement and the art of the drama and result in the improvement of our standards.

IQBAL DAY MUSHAIRA

27 April, 1956

I DO NOT THINK I am the right man to inaugurate this Mushaira. I do not know Persian or Urdu nor am I a poet by any stretch of imagination. If I still am here, it is because I have read some of Iqbal's works in English and have a great admiration for his work.

In the year 1937 at the Golden Jubilee of the Allahabad University he and I were recipients of honorary degrees, and there was another thing in common between us, that we felt the need of a rational and spiritual religion when superstition and obscurantism were rampant.

Today we have almost unlimited power of self-annihilation in our hands, and if wisdom and humanity do not help us to divert this power to human advantage, the future of human race will be in peril. If technical power is accompanied by moral failure, we will enter another dark age. Our world is filled with fear and suspicion; it has developed so much animosity that though there is no war, there is no peace. For the new world which is emerging we need a new type of man, with a liberal mind and a humane outlook. To build tolerance and charity in the minds of men is the task not of engineers and technicians but of poets and artists.

Iqbal rightly stressed the discipline of religion as our great need. 'It is pure dogmatism', says Iqbal, 'on the part of science to claim that the aspects of reality selected by it are the only aspects to be studied.' There is another dimension to man's existence. God, for Iqbal, is a Supreme Person who is not a mere idea or abstraction, who is not an absolute principle or a rational ordainer of the universe. He is a Real Presence with whom we can get into communion. He whose life is centred in God creates new and unforeseeable realities. The aim of religion is to make the human being a free spirit. Iqbal quotes the verse of the Qurān: 'Verily we proposed to the heavens and to the earth and to the mountains to receive the trust but they refused the burden and they feared to receive it. Man undertook to bear it.'[1] Iqbal comments on it: 'Man is the trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril.' The free individuals are those whose consciousness reaches the highest point of intensity. Such a free spirit is a co-creator with God. Iqbal quotes the Qurānic verse: 'Blessed be God, the best of creators.' Not man as he is now, but man purified through obedience, self-control and detachment can reach the high status of the viceregent of God. Iqbal wrote to Nicholson. 'Physically as well as spiritually man is a self-contained centre, but he is not yet a complete individual. The greater his

[1] XXXIII, 72

distance from God, the less his individuality. He who comes nearest to God is the complete person. The ego attains to freedom by the removal of all obstructions in its way. It is partly free, partly determinate, and reaches full freedom by approaching the individual who is most free-God.'[2] Like all great religions, Islam insists on self-effacement for divine union. We must detach ourselves from the worldly life to devote ourselves to the service of God. All people are prophets, are capable of this spiritual attainment.

The function of poetry is the communication of vision. Great poetry is the result of great vision. It gives to men a new outlook. It has the power to heal a nation's wounds.

Iqbal's poems set before us a classless social order without distinction of rich and poor, high and low. The true human being should identify himself with the poor and the lowly. We should not oppress the innocent. This is the meaning of democracy. The same spirit of democracy requires us to look upon all whether they are Muslims or Hindus, Christians or Jews, as children of one Father.

In these dark and threatening times we have to re-discover the vital truths, those great patterns of thought and behaviour, those great moral and spiritual values, the oneness of God and the brotherhood of man which are associated with Islam. Unfortunately, in the course of centuries

[2] Introduction to *The Secrets of the Self*, p. XV

these central truths are obscured, and rites and rituals, creeds and dogmas have covered up the simplicity of the message of Islam. It is the duty of thinkers in each generation to recapture the original purity and dynamic vigour of the ancient message and re-express it in the idiom of their age. This task of re-interpretation Iqbal undertook in his book on *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* He defended religion against the attacks of Marxist materialism and Existentialism. 'Marxism', said Iqbal, 'had a believing heart and an atheist brain.' He loved greatly the spirit of this country and said on an important occasion : 'I am sprung from the same stock. India is older than Hinduism and Islam and will remain when we and our creeds have become one with yesterday's seven thousand years.' He loved India, he loved Islam and more than all he loved humanity. He looked forward to a period when we might be able to co-operate freely for the welfare of the whole world, in a spirit of universal goodwill.

Iqbal was greatly inspired by Rūmi's teachings and echoed his sentiments. Rūmi said : 'There are many lamps but the light is one.' Iqbal said : 'There is only one religion but there are many versions of it.' It is a commentary on the Ṛg Veda statement *ekam sat viprāḥ bahudhā vadanti* and the Qurān says there is not a nation to whom a warner has not been sent by God.

I hope that this Mushaira will be both instructive and entertaining.

SANGEET NATAK AKADEMI AWARDS

I AM SORRY that our President is not with us today on account of slight throat trouble. We all hope that he will be all right in a day or two.

One of the remarkable features of the post-independence India is the revival of artistic activities. This Akademi was the first to be set up, in January 1953, and the other two were established in 1954. This year we are having awards not only for music, but also for dancing and acting. Music, dance and acting generally go together. These are the arts by which man's nature is vitally affected.

Civilization is not a matter of mere material possessions or speedy communications. Railway tracks, electric lights and health clinics are not by themselves civilization. It is a state of mind, a tradition of culture, a sense of values. What distinguishes a cultivated man from a barbarian is not his health or wealth but his pursuit of wisdom, his passion for beauty and his practice of love. The truth is that many of us have become cynical and sceptical and suffer from irrational desires and intense longings. Our lives are either empty or trivial. If our lives are to be redeemed from boredom, we must cultivate the great arts. It is said that man does not live by bread alone. Poetry, passion, mystery, ecstasy also count.

In the development of the inward side of civili-

zation, namely, culture, art has a great function. Its purpose is not merely to entertain. It is to vitalize and affect us for the better. *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* (The Mirror of Gesture) has a well-known verse:

āsyenālambayed gītam
hastenārtham pradarśayet
cakṣubhyām darśayed bhāvam
pādābhyām tālam ādiśet.

Let the song proceed from the mouth,
Let the meaning be made clear with the hands,
Let the eyes show forth the feeling or *bhāva*
And let the feet move to the rhythm.

What rhythm is in time, that is symmetry in space.

Creation of conscience in the community is beyond the province of political action. It has ceased to be the serious concern of organized religions. For better or for worse it must rely on literature and arts. Through them we learn to love the lovable and abhor the detestable. When we hear a musical composition, see a great dance or follow a moving drama, we are quickened, chastened and exalted in spirit.

All great art is the overflow of contemplative chastity, emotional intensity, heightened vision. These perceptions are woven into ideas and words or shapes and colours. Our ancient artists prepared themselves for their work by fasting, by prayer, by sacraments and aimed at spiritual and artistic perfection. Though our methods may be different, our aims are the same.

Art does not thrive in an atmosphere of neglect, depreciation or contempt. It has never suffered from over-praise. We should do everything in our power to encourage art which will help to bring about a calmer and kindlier age.

We are today honouring some of the outstanding creative artists in the fields of music, dance and drama. My warmest congratulations to them all.

TO THE FREE UNIVERSITY OF BRUSSELS

4 June, 1956

IT IS A GREAT HONOUR that you have conferred on me and through me on my country by admitting me to your academic community. I appreciate it very much.

Though in size and population you are relatively a small country, your contributions to literature and the arts have been considerable. Your leading writers are well known in my country, especially Maeterlinck and the poet Verhaeren. Your influence on painting, through classicist, romanticist and impressionist schools is not limited to Europe. It is not merely in fine arts and literature that you have impressed the world. Though your natural resources are limited, by your strenuous work and spirit of enterprise, you have attained high rank in world trade. Belgium is a highly industrialized country, specializing in steel, glass, textiles, etc. What strikes us most is the way in which you have developed your economy through democratic processes. We, in our country, are attempting to achieve a Welfare State through democratic methods. Your tradition of democracy has been deep-rooted and strong. Its roots go back to the Middle Ages with its communes or free towns of

Bruges, Ghent, Liege, etc. In the fourteenth century, you have had something like the Magna Charta guaranteeing liberty and equality before law. You have passed through many changes in the past and your democracy has survived the upheavals and onslaughts of the two wars.

In the confusion of voices which press upon us, you have kept democracy strong. Its strength is not merely political and economic but intellectual and moral. For its proper functioning democracy requires more qualities than other forms of government. It is in the universities that we can develop the true spirit of democracy, appreciation of other points of view, and adjustment of differences through discussions. It can be kept healthy and strong by the exercise of individual responsibility and judgment. In universities we have to recall the struggles of the past and realize the perils and possibilities, the challenges and opportunities of the present.

Science and technology have made it possible for us to attain universal well-being. Though prophets of religion have long dreamed of the brotherhood of man, on earth one family, the forces necessary to implement these ideals are now available. If this possibility is to become a fact, we need humanity and wisdom. The future of mankind depends on the future of man, on his spirit, on his approach to the problems which face him. If he relies on force and adopts a military approach, the future is bleak

indeed; if, on the other hand, he believes in the spirit, he will prosper.

Professor Adrian, President of the Royal Society, in his Inaugural Address on Science and Human Nature at the 116th annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, said that the control achieved over the forces of nature is now so complete 'that we might soon become able to destroy two-thirds of the world by pressing a button.' This control compels an improvement of our own natures by more education in the arts of civilized life. He added: 'We may perhaps improve ourselves more rapidly if we can gain more insight into human behaviour.' We have to remember that while natural sciences give control over the forces of nature, social sciences do not give us control over human nature. Social sciences give us facts and figures. Social investigations are indeed valuable. But they do not give us norms, goals. He admits: 'We are afraid, and rightly. We cannot trust ourselves to act peaceably, because we know that unless we are ready to give up some of our old loyalties, we may be forced into a fight which might end the human race. Our predicament is the inevitable result of our curiosity and of the physical nature of the world we live in, but if we can make our behaviour worthy of our increased knowledge, we can live safely.' Social sciences speak to us of men's behaviour in society, but this knowledge can be used for good or evil. We require

philosophy and religion, literature and art to give us direction and guidance. Unfortunately there is a wrong impression that science is unfavourable to the disciplines which foster humanity and wisdom.

As a Catholic country, you hold that the world's greatest needs of justice, charity and mercy are distilled from religion. Man is not a biological animal or an economic being. He is a spiritual person. He is not satisfied with temporal possessions. The great teachers of mankind, Hindu and Buddhist, Jewish and Christian, Muslim and Sikh speak to us of peace on earth. It is the embodiment of man's spiritual search. The great upheavals are blundering attempts to achieve the unity of mankind, the vision of Isaiah of a time when the nations would beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, neither would they learn war any more. This is the vision which answers to the instinctive desire of man at his highest, at the most thoughtful and the most co-operative.

Universities have a supreme function in the advancement of international understanding and international peace. It is in them that we have to develop a new way of thinking and feeling. As far back as 1888, Louis Pasteur of France said: 'Two opposing laws seem to me now in contest. The one, a law of blood and death, opening out each day new modes of destruction, forces nations to be always ready for battle. The other, a law of peace,

work and health, whose only aim is to deliver man from the calamities that beset him.... Which of these two laws will prevail, God alone knows. But of this we may be sure, that science is obeying the law of humanity, will always labour to enlarge the frontiers of life.' If we cannot change our minds, we cannot change anything. The events will not be shaped by the acts of statesmen. They will be moulded by the hidden currents flowing continually beneath the surface of political history of which we cannot predict the outcome. We can influence the hidden currents only by changing opinion. We can change opinion by affirming truth, unveiling illusion, dissipating hate and enlarging men's minds and hearts.

Science does not commit us to a determinist view of history. There is only one safe rule for the historian, said H. A. L. Fisher, that we must recognize in the development of human destinies, the play of the contingent and the unforeseen. Events are not inevitable. There are no rigid predetermined patterns. We cannot ignore the influence of ideas and beliefs on human minds and actions. Ideas have a life of their own, get developed or distorted when they enter the whirlpool of accidents and personalities. If we liquidate the individual who preaches unorthodox ideas, if we suppress the faculty of thought, if we stifle the spirit of man, if we destroy his freedom, then we are not democratic. What man has done, he can undo.

The future of mankind can be safe only through the efforts of individual men. University men should extend their views in space and time. Even those who do not belong to our race or religion are also human beings. They are like ourselves, not much different from us. We have to train our youth in the consciousness of a common purpose for mankind, in the brotherhood of man. The greatest men of the world are great because of their humanity, fellow-feeling, for their love of the ideals of knowledge, love and beauty. They are the sculptors of men. In universities we glorify men who have benefited humanity and not indulged in violence and bloodshed, men like the Buddha, Socrates and Jesus, who asked us to love our enemies.

Science and scholarship belong to the world. They belong to no age or community. They overleap the boundaries of nations. All those who are consecrated to the service of learning are brethren. They belong to the one republic of letters. We need each other's help in our unending quest for further knowledge and deeper understanding of the evolution of mankind. It is my hope and wish that this great University will continue to uphold its liberal tradition and work for the progress of your country and the good of the world.

TO THE CHARLES UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE

7 June, 1956

IT IS A GREAT HONOUR which this ancient University has conferred on me and through me on my country by making me an honorary graduate of this University. I recognize that this University is one of the oldest in Europe and has been known for long as a great seat of learning along with Oxford and Cambridge, Paris and Bologna.

In our country we have had great institutions answering to our modern universities for a long time past. As far back as 700 B.C. Takṣaśila attracted students from outside India and had remarkable programmes of teaching, study and research in many subjects, such as literature and arts, military science and medicine. In later years we had the Universities of Nalanda, Vallabhi and Vikramaśīla. Men of great eminence worked in them. The Nalanda University counted on its staff such great thinkers as Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Vasubandhu, Asaṅga, Sthiramati, Dharmapāla, Śīlabhadra, Śāntideva, Padmasambhava. The ancient universities were the sanctuaries of the inner life of the nation. A blight overtook the country for some centuries, and the oldest of modern universities are only a hundred years old. We

have about 400,000 students in these universities, and this number is small. Considering the size of the country and the programmes of reconstruction it wishes to implement, we are sending our students abroad for training in subjects for which adequate facilities are not available in our country. Even when our universities become developed, contacts with other countries and their universities will not stop; for it is the function of universities to foster a sense of world community. I have no doubt that our students will come to you for training in technical subjects in large numbers in the years to come.

Your University has had a long and great tradition of intellectual integrity and social justice which you still cherish. The great religious reformer John Hus (1369-1415) is one of the greatest figures of Czech history. While a student in the University of Prague he became familiar with the writings of John Wyclif. He became the Rector of this University in 1402. When he protested against clerical abuses, his action was disapproved by the then governmental authorities. Yet the University re-elected him Rector in 1409, thereby proclaiming that her allegiance to the intellectual conscience was greater than loyalty to the Government. In the days of Hus the Church was the greatest feudal power. It not only owned large estates but controlled the thoughts and feelings of the people. The Church became the defender of the feudal social

order. Any one who rose against the feudal order was outlawed by the Church as a heretic. Heresy was not merely opposition to the Catholic faith but opposition to the social order with which the Church was identified.

The intellectual tradition of Europe was inaugurated by Socrates—the seeker of truth. When the choice was put before him, to stop teaching and corrupting the youth of his country, as the authorities thought, or death, he preferred death to disloyalty to his ideals. This tradition was carried out by John Hus. When he was condemned for his views and his trial began on June 5, 1415, he defended himself against charges of Eucharistic heresy and of maintaining Wyclif's doctrines. Called upon to recant unconditionally, to make full submission to the Council and pledge himself not to preach or teach doctrines of which he was found guilty, Hus politely but firmly refused. When he was bound to the stake and wood was piled round him up to his neck, the messengers of the Council arrived and asked him to recant and save his life. Hus replied: 'The prime endeavour of all my preaching, teaching and writing and of all my deeds has been to turn people from their sins and these truths that I wrote, taught and preached in accordance with the word of God and the teachings of the holy doctors I willingly seal with my blood today.' He was prepared to suffer death for the sake of his ideals. The stake was lit and the

great thinker ended his life in the flames on July 6, 1415. The life of Hus symbolizes material defeat and moral victory. The Cross which is the central doctrine of Christianity is illustrated by the life and death of Hus.

In Hus we find a great example not only of Czech patriotism but also of fraternal solidarity with the peoples of other countries. He said: 'I say this to my conscience that if I knew a foreigner who was virtuous and loved God more and strove for the good more than my brother, he should be dearer to me than my own brother. Good English priests therefore stand higher than unworthy Czech priests; a good German than an evil brother.' Hus was a universal humanist.

This University from its foundation in 1348 by the Charter issued by King Charles IV, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, with the four faculties for Divinity, Law, Medicine and Arts, has passed through many changes in management, administration and programmes of study. It celebrated on April 7, 1948, the 600th anniversary of its foundation. Throughout its history, universalist ideas have been its inspiration.

When we call any one great, we do not mean great in physical courage or intellectual ability or artistic skill. These qualities have changed from time to time. One is great because of his humanity and wisdom. It is an honour to be a man. The sanctity of the human soul, the dignity of the

human personality is the ethical basis of democracy. Karl Marx denounced capitalist economy on the ground that it dehumanized man. By herding man, by softening his head, by rousing his senses, by depleting his imagination, it mechanizes the human being. By debasing men's minds, by debilitating their wills, by destroying their vision, men are reduced to puppets, things of paint and sawdust, which have no life, but are moved by strings. Man is great when he is not a cog in the social machine, not an item in the series of objective happenings, not a unit in an anonymous crowd. He is great when he is able to think for himself, judge for himself and create for himself. Pursuit of truth is the highest austerity, *jñāna-mayaṁ tapaḥ*.[1] Masterpieces spring from the fire of contemplation, of intimate and austere thinking. Those who are given to it are the dedicated spirits who are full of love for humanity. They may not all have been right but they were true.

In the physical sense of the term, we belong to our age but as university men we escape from the trammels of our age and nation and become, in the true sense of the word, contemporaries of all ages. Reverence for the great minds of the past and the expansion of the future bounds of knowledge are the prerogatives of a university. I note with thankfulness that many outstanding contributions have

[1] *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, 1.1.9

been made to Indian studies by the scholars of this University and I hope they will increase in future. We remember with gratitude the names of Winternitz and Lesny.

Every enlargement of man's control over nature makes for either good or bad consequences. The fruits of recent technical advance are the economy of abundance and atomic wars. Mankind today is faced with the great possibility of increasing the material prosperity of the whole world in the next generation to an extent that was not conceivable hitherto. This is due to a single invention and the discoveries associated with it. If we are wise, we can banish from the world poverty and malnutrition; if we are not wise, utter misery, even ultimate annihilation may befall us. To sustain us in this nuclear age, we need the development of qualities of tolerance, endurance, patience, kindness and courage.

This University is a beloved community of memory and of hope, of the past and the future, the inter-locked life of many successive generations making its pilgrimage through time. The fellowship in a university transcends the barriers of race and nation, of clan and creed, and honours the achievements in art and literature, science and scholarship of a variety of peoples. It exemplifies in a small way the fraternity we wish to build up among human beings. Let us recall the Song of the victory of Donazlice (1431):

Many swords turn into ploughs
And spears into sickles, as God promised;
And weapons shall be melted
Into bells that shall greet us.
The nation shall no longer raise its swords,
Nor fall upon the neighbours in war.
All shall rejoice in the beauty of peace
And in living together.[2]

I express to you my gratitude for the honour you have done me and wish the University a future even greater than its past, which is assured through the pursuit of the ideals of intellectual integrity and social justice.

[2] Quoted in Josef Macek : *The Hussite Movement in Bohemia* (1953), p. 46.

TO THE MOSCOW UNIVERSITY

18 June, 1956

I AM THANKFUL to you for the honour you have done me by appointing me an Honorary Professor of this important University. I am no stranger to this University. I visited it some years ago and I am glad that you are now in these spacious premises.

From the time of the October Revolution in 1917, special attention has been paid to the care of the children, the training of youth and the encouragement of the artists and intellectuals, universities and academies. This large and well-equipped building is another illustration of your great interest in the intellectual life of the community.

But buildings do not make a university. It is the teachers and the pupils and their pursuit of knowledge, these make the soul of a university. The university is the sanctuary of the intellectual life of a country. The healthy roots of national life are to be found in the people. They are the well-springs of national awakening. They are the spirit behind revolutionary movements of society. When we give education, we start a ferment of debate and discussion of first principles. The educated youth will voice their thoughts and find fault with things as they are. We train in this University not only doctors and engineers but also men and women

who think for themselves. They will not judge everything by the party line. If we destroy the initiative, the freedom of the people, we do so at our peril. If men lose intellectual vigour, the future of civilization is bleak indeed.

Human development is not to be confused with the acquisition of mechanical skills or intellectual information. It is the development of the spirit in man. Modern man is lost in the mass. He accepts what society and its organs of expression, the film, the radio, the television, the newspaper put into circulation. We have too much of automatic thinking. Intellectual integrity is imperilled and truth suffers. Independent reflection is developed by the quiet study of great books. We develop our souls by the study of great classics which reveal to us great minds. Though we belong physically to our country and our age, as students of universities we belong to all countries and all ages. In our time in the university we read your great writers, Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Chekov, Gorki. Through their works we came to appreciate your people and your genius. They have revealed to us your tortured conscience, your spiritual hunger. Man is not satisfied with boredom and emptiness, with that *taedium vitae* that afflicts the hopeless. We know how your saints and seers dared to assume responsibility for their insights into truth, goodness and beauty, who made their decisions even at the peril of their lives. Your people are deeply

mystical, and I hope your studies and training will help to develop your innate love of truth, beauty and goodness and not destroy the hunger for the unseen. Let us remember that what makes a nation great is not size or wealth. If we use our material resources for the liberation of the spirit, for the enlargement of the soul, we deserve to be considered great.

There are many atheists who say that they do not believe in God and act as if they did and there are many religious people who say that they believe in God and act as if they did not. Those who developed atomic power risked their lives and tried to help to build a truly human society. We need today a breath of human charity, of brotherhood, a return to dignity.

If there is hostility to organized religion in the Soviet Union, it is not entirely the fault of the Union. Those who sponsor religious propaganda in their zeal for the spiritual welfare of their fellowmen indulge in a vulgar competition about the know-how of salvation. Agencies for proselytization which scramble for souls are not in keeping with the true spirit of religion. The people of the Soviet Union are aware of religious fanaticism which ravaged Europe in the wars of religion. There are still people who, with a crusading zeal, affirm that they have the monopoly of a final, unique, exclusive and incomparable revelation. These people are indirectly responsible for the eclipse of religion, for the blight of unbelief in large

parts of the world. Their failure stems from lack of humility and religious aggression. For men steeped in the spirit of science and criticism a return to religious orthodoxy is a sign of spiritual cowardice. Many of the modern minds are unable to accept the dogmatic creeds of old. I may give one or two illustrations. The late Professor A. N. Whitehead felt that the trouble started with the interpreters of Christianity, who shut out all discussions and declared that they knew all there was to be known on the subject. Thought was shackled by superstition. He said : 'The trouble with the Bible has been its interpreters who have scaled and whittled down that sense of infinitude into finite and limited concepts and the first interpreter of the New Testament was the worst, Paul.'[1] He considered 'Christian theology to be one of the great disasters of the human race'.[2] He is at one with the Indian thinkers in regard to the nature of religious experience and theology. 'Mysticism leads us to try to create out of the mystical experience something that will save it, or at least save the memory of it. Words do not convey it except feebly; we are aware of having been in communication with infinitude and we know that no finite form we can give can convey it.'[3] We believe in religion as

[1] *Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead as recorded by Lucien Price* (1954), p. 131

[2] Ibid p. 171

[3] Ibid p. 171

communion with God and do not dismiss differences among religions as unimportant or irrelevant. We do not propose an undifferentiated universalism or indifferentism. We believe in a partnership among religions. Professor Arnold Toynbee writes: 'I was brought up to believe that Christianity was a unique revelation of the whole truth. I have now come to believe that all the historic religions and philosophies are partial revelations of the truth in one or other of its aspects. In particular, I believe that Buddhism and Hinduism have a lesson to teach Christianity, Islam and Judaism in the "one world" into which we are now being carried by "the annihilation of distance". Unlike the Judaic religions, the Indian religions are not exclusive. They allow for the possibility that there may be alternative approaches to the mystery of Existence; and this seems to me more likely to be the truth than the rival claims of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam to be unique and final revelations. This Indian standpoint is the one from which the last four volumes of my book have been written. For each of us, the easiest approach to the mystery of the Universe is, no doubt, his ancestral religion; but this does not mean that he ought to rule out the other approaches that the other religions offer. If one can enter into these, as well as into one's own, it is gain, not loss.'[4]

[4] International Affairs (1955), pp. 1-4—*'A Study of History: What I am trying to do.'*

While we should avoid the disease of orthodoxy, we should affirm the need for a sensible religion. Modern man has become a self-sufficient entity who has lost the awareness of a power who is beyond his understanding and control. This results in man's mutilation. To restore him to the fulness of his stature we need a rational faith. Such a rational faith is not inconsistent with the spirit of science. Einstein writes in *The World as I See It*: 'His religious feeling takes the form of a rapturous amazement at the harmony of natural law, which reveals an intelligence of such superiority that, compared with it, all the systematic thinking and acting of human beings is an utterly insignificant reflection. This feeling is the guiding principle of his life and work, in so far as he succeeds in keeping himself from the shackles of selfish desire. It is beyond question closely akin to that which has possessed the religious geniuses of all ages.' I hope that you will see the wisdom of adopting a religion which is rational and ethical.

The students of a university should be trained to struggle against ignorance, injustice, oppression and fear. The great revolutions, the British, the French, the American, and the Russian mark important stages in the progress of freedom. Their echoes were heard in all parts of the world, and stirred men's minds. They are all based on a conviction of the sanctity of the individual, the freedom to think, express and worship according to his

conviction. He must enjoy equality before law. He must have a fair opportunity to develop his powers. There are large parts of the world, especially in Asia and Africa, where these universal principles do not find recognition. The very nations whose revolutionary principles have inspired humanity seem to be blocking the way of their realization. They seem to forget that time does not stand still and change is the character of human life, national and international.

My appointment as a Professor of this University is a symbol of the oneness of the world of learning. We in the universities have to prepare the mind of the world for the establishment of a world community with a common consciousness and a common conscience. This is possible only if the nations which have the power to annihilate each other renounce that power. This requires an act of faith.

It is the function of a teacher not to give the pupils what they want but make them want what he gives them. I will use my privilege as a Professor to rebuke you, if I find that you go wrong ! I hope that you do not claim infallibility.

GANDHI MEMORIAL ACADEMY, NAIROBI

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

12 July, 1956

YOU HAVE CONFERRED on me a great privilege in asking me to participate in the auspicious functions of today, of opening the Gandhi Memorial Academy and unveiling the statue of Gandhiji. Great men do not belong to one nation. They belong to all humanity. National heroes and warriors may represent fleeting moments of history, may organize provincial passions and group loyalties, make a splash and disappear. The saints and sages have power over our souls, to whatever country we may belong. They confer on us our titles to nobility. Gandhi united the destiny of India to that of the world. In our age he lived to demonstrate that the human spirit when lit by a divine fire is mightier than the most mighty weapon.

It is only natural and appropriate that the people of Africa should celebrate the name of Gandhi and raise this memorial to him. A part of this country was the scene of his early public life. It is here that he first practised the method of civil disobedience. You should not acquiesce in evil. You should resist it but not through violent means. Evil is misunderstanding or estrangement, at worst

it is a derangement or disease. We should deal with it in charity and not in anger, *akrodhena jayet krodham*, by non-anger overcome anger. You must deal with your enemy so that one day he may be your friend. In 1928 he gave his followers the following instructions. If you are arrested, go to prison quietly. If assaulted, bear it cheerfully. If shot, die peacefully.

For Gandhi politics was not opportunism or expediency. He wished to raise men to higher levels of moral action. Gandhi recognized evil but he recognized no enemy, for all men are brethren. He was certain that truth and love would not be beaten. The gates of hell shall not prevail. His method of dealing with conflicts has a special force today. In this nuclear age, conflicts between nations require to be settled by peaceful methods. We have reached a dead-end on the military road. We cannot hang on to old methods of security in the new world.

Gandhi practised his method in South Africa to resist racial oppression and achieve racial harmony. The methods of segregation and discrimination adopted by the authorities in some parts of Africa are born out of fear, fear which is afraid of justice. We try to defend injustice in the name of social justice. If fear is to be removed, the injustice requires to be removed.

If racial tolerance is to be implemented in the public life of the country, the work of re-education has to be started in our educational institutions.

By living together, by working together, we get to understand one another and bridge the gulf that separates us in feeling and imagination. When we do not know other people, we become frightened, angry, hysterical. When we know them, we understand them, appreciate them, make allowances for their weaknesses and accept them. The Royal Technical College which is a co-operative undertaking has, for its objective, the achievement of harmony among races; the ideal for which Gandhi lived and died is the reconciliation of peoples and the building of a fraternal world.

To develop the universality of outlook, to adopt racial tolerance, what we need is education in the disciplines which are included in humanities. I am glad that the Gandhi Memorial Academy, devoted to these studies, is a part of the Royal Technical College. I feel that it should be treated as an essential part of it. The people of this country have to be trained for effecting industrial development and social progress. The country requires engineers and technicians, medical men and teachers. More than all these, the country requires men who are able to think for themselves and live as human beings. If we look at the world today, we are amazed at the progress made in the mastery of nature but are depressed by the little advance that we have made in the mastery of human nature. We can bottle music, belt the globe, split the atom, but how to live on earth as human beings, we have

yet to learn. By pressing a button we can destroy a continent. But fear of consequences has not yet deterred man from courting disaster. The two World Wars have demonstrated how man can descend to incredible depths of depravity even when he has achieved astounding heights of intellectual penetration. The crisis which faces us today is not an intellectual crisis but a spiritual one. Unless egoism in all its forms, tribal, racial, national, bends to the dominion of love and goodness, our future is not safe.

Unfortunately, in our educational institutions we feed the animal, train the mind but do not attend to the spirit in man.

We listen to the radio, see the cinema or television, read the newspapers, repeat slogans, absorb the impressions we are given. We become a set of mirrors reflecting whatever is presented to us. We are empty within and drift on a tide of trivialities, automatic actions, conditioned responses that do not reach any significant level of intensity. We do not find any purpose or meaning in life. We become like one of these machines we handle, and are satisfied with sex, drink, or the national flag. As our inward resources are depleted, we depend on external diversions. We are fragmented beings, afraid of ourselves. Humanities must help us to realize the spirit in us. Study of great classics reveals to us the vision of greatness.

John Drinkwater in his *Abraham Lincoln* writes:

> When the high heart we magnify
> And the sure vision celebrate,
> And worship greatness passing by,
> Ourselves are great.

If we are to be freed from the debilitating effects and nervous strain of modern life, if we are to be saved from the assaults which beat so insistently on us from the screen and the radio, from the 'yellow' press and demagogy, if defences against them are to be built in the minds of men, if enduring interests of humanity are to be implanted in us, we must make it a point to have a short time in our daily life for quiet reading and reflection. This is as essential for the health of the mind, as physical exercise is for the health of the body. It is the only way to escape from the mechanizing of mind and be human, alive and creative. In the quiet of the soul, free from the noises and clamours of the world, man possesses his spirit in stillness. He may be solitary but he is not desolate, for he has communion with the quenchless inner flame. It is in those moments of vision and achievement that man effects self-renewal, the transmutation of the human into the spiritual. The authentic religious souls began the revolution within themselves, in the depths of their hearts, and were inspired by brotherly love in all their actions. To that company of immortals Gandhi belongs.

It is wrong to imagine that science and techno-

logy are indifferent to the values of spirit. The great advances of science reveal not the omnipotence of matter, but the superiority of the human mind to the world of matter. Sciences reveal to us the mystery at the heart of the universe. They disclose to us the riches of the spiritual life.

You know better than I do the way in which the idea of the Gandhi Memorial Academy arose and developed till it today forms an integral part of the Royal Technical College. The souvenir volume contains the history of the movement, the names of those who helped by gifts and advice to make this a reality. Our grateful thanks are due to all those, high and low, who helped this movement. Those who pass through these rooms should remember what the present generation has done for them.

The statue, which I will have the pleasure of unveiling, was designed and executed by an Indian sculptor, Shri Karmarkar, and I do hope that it will be a symbol for generations to come of the grandeur of Gandhi's inspiration and the breadth of his humanity, of his dream of the future, of the day when the peoples of the world, forgetting their quarrels, will live like members of a large family. May this institution remember, even in this age of crisis and transformation which the human race is traversing, the ideal which Gandhi incarnated for us, serenity of spirit, love of men, harmony among races and religions.

DELHI UNIVERSITY

SPECIAL CONVOCATION*

31 August, 1956

MAY I EXPRESS to our new graduate how delighted we are to welcome him into our academic fellowship? As the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, he symbolizes the spirit of law and justice which are the ultimate justification of States. Augustine said, without justice States are but brigandage.

Our two countries believe in the rule of law, what we call *dharma* which is independent of the State, which provides the foundations and fixes the limits of State authority. Our two Constitutions recognize the need for justice. Government is not for itself; it is a means to a greater end, the liberty of man. Man is a more fundamental reality than institutions which are devised to enable man to develop his mind in security and freedom. These institutions impose restraints on the power of Governments. Power is bridled by law. Politics becomes justice writ large. When justice is upheld, it protects; when violated, it destroys. *dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ* ; *hato hanti*. If we live in fear, it is because we are afraid of justice.

*Address as Chancellor admitting the Hon. Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States of America, to an Honorary Degree of the University

Justice, like truth, is universal. As you have just observed, inventions of science and technology are making the world increasingly one, and the time will soon come when we will speak not of my country or your country, but of our world. World loyalty demands that we should not resort to injustice even to save our country. No country can be a law unto itself. We must impose curbs on national sovereignty. We must develop international institutions to protect human freedom, foster social justice, promote economic progress and preserve political security.

Any kind of exploitation of man by man is alien to the spirit of justice. When a blind desire for power or domination takes possession of men or nations, justice and love disappear but the lust for domination destroys all those who are forgetful of justice. Against the rock of moral law those who defy it are broken. Thucydides observed long ago that love of power is like a wicked courtezan that tempts men and nations and brings them down to their ruin.

You have referred to the fact that in the Supreme Court hall you have pictures of those from East and West who have helped the growth of law in the world. All those who search for justice in the large sense, who hope to build a free, friendly, decent world, with peace, hope and opportunity for all mankind, belong to one fraternity. We welcome the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court

of the United States of America as one who strives for this *dharma-rājya*, the kingdom of justice, of righteousness, of love.

WELCOME TO UNESCO, DELHI

5 November, 1956

IT IS MY GREAT HONOUR to reinforce the very cordial welcome which our President has extended to you, on this your first visit to this ancient and modern city. This Conference gives me an opportunity of renewing old friendships and making new ones. We are happy to have with us so many distinguished delegates from different parts of the world, who are assembled here to consider ways and means for consolidating peace in men's minds.

Of all the agencies connected with the U.N., UNESCO is not the least important, for it is interested in changing the axis of our thought and life. If I speak about its work in the last ten years for the building of peace and security, the promotion of world understanding and the raising of standards of education, science and culture in the world, I may be accused of blowing the horn for UNESCO with which I was associated during this period. I will leave it to others.

The present state of the world is to thinking men a source of pride, bewilderment and alarm. It is a matter of pride that our generation has developed the great achievements of science and technology which enable us to dominate the skies, reach out to the stars and expand to the ends of the world. Our

civilization is unique in that it offers us the basis of a world-wide social order. This unification of the world is without parallel in the past. To meet the challenge of the new situation, we have to devise new means and not perpetuate inherited patterns of social and international behaviour. We are bewildered that our efforts to establish a world order on principles of equity and freedom through international organizations have not been successful. Though we know that the world is one, whether we like it or not, that, in spite of political, national and racial divisions, the fortunes of every one of us are linked to those of others—even though we know it—we do not feel it in our bones. When we find that great nations are not ready to change their ways of dealing with others and persist in ways which are outmoded and dangerous, we are not only bewildered but alarmed. The world has been brought together rather too suddenly and this enforced intimacy has intensified the differences and increased the possibilities of friction. We are baffled by the problems which our age has thrown up, for advanced nations from whom we expect leadership are failing us. They wrecked the League of Nations, and if we are not vigilant and if the pressure of public opinion does not restrain them, they are likely to wreck the United Nations.

It was wrong to think that we are caught up in the march of evolution and we will be lifted to a better world in spite of ourselves. In a previous

age we had faith in the inevitability of progress. When this earth was a mere molten mass, no one would have dreamed of the forms of life which have appeared. By and by the earth cooled, the oceans appeared and later plant life. There has been a steady, upward march from the amoeba through an infinite variety of other creatures, reptiles, monkeys and apes to Neanderthal man, to primitive man and thence to civilized man. A short view may show decline here and there but a long view reveals that the trend is upward in spite of periods of regression. So it is assumed that with an inexorable logic we will move forward, blindly perhaps, often haltingly, in spite of ourselves, to higher conditions of civilized life. In the nineteenth century, we had firm faith in the inevitability of progress. Believers in the doctrine of evolution tell us that the laws of natural selection will result in the transformation of the present imperfect society into a more perfect one with a finer humanity. Marxist interpretation of history confirms this view. After the two World Wars we are not so sure of our future. After the First World War we all imagined that we were reasonable beings and all the people had the same interests. We all wanted peace and so we would advance rapidly to a new social integration. The Second World War pricked this bubble of progress.

The fundamental fallacy in this argument is the false analogy between natural history and human history, between the laws which govern sub-human

species and those which apply to man in society. We do not doubt that man has advanced on earlier forms of life but we are not sure that there has been a steady advance in happiness and social morality. If we turn to the history of past civilizations, we see ups and downs, an upward surge, a grappling with problems, an exhaustion, a slow steady decline, a stiffening of the fibres, a hardening of the arteries, a dying down of creative forces.

The civilization which we have developed is not exempt from the law of change. Whether it will rise or fall depends not on the stars above but on ourselves. Civilization is a human creation, the triumph of man's mind and will. Take the atomic revolution. It is a vast human effort, a conscious exploitation of new power acquired by scientific skill and ideals. It is of man's making. History is not fate. There are real alternatives. We can make choices, right or wrong. The great technological revolution can lead to abundance for all and peace, if we are wise; to the extinction of all hope and all life, if we are unwise. What prevents the realization of the dream of ages, *lokasaṁgraha*, is our outmoded methods and loyalties. We know our predicament. When man becomes aware of his destiny, destiny ends and man comes into his own and takes charge of his future.

This Organization, at any rate, knows what is wrong with us. This awareness, if intense, can help us to shape our future according to our heart's desire.

There are certain essential steps which all States should take: (1) They must give up their faith in military methods with which they have grown up for centuries. We seem still to adhere to the same doctrine, for the advanced nations feel that they will not be respected unless they are able to make the hydrogen bomb. There is a hideous rivalry among the Powers in this matter and each one is trying to demonstrate to others that she is leading in the race for making these weapons. They forget that the conditions of warfare have so altered that there is not much difference today between defeat and victory. There is no such thing as winning a thermo-nuclear war. It will be tragic folly for any nation to start a nuclear war, for it means mutual annihilation and yet we are continuously making these diabolic weapons and spreading dark clouds of fear over mankind. We deceive ourselves if we imagine that their very destructiveness will impel us to give up their use. More dreadful than hate is fear. A nation dreading that a hostile State might first employ these weapons might use them in the hope that it would thereby avert its own destruction. Let us clearly understand that in preparing nuclear weapons we are compromising with delusion. If war has a future, human society has none; if human society has a future, war has no future.

(2) Nationalism should be subordinated to world loyalty. Mo Tzu, a Chinese thinker of fifth century B.C., describes the troubled condition of China of

his time in words which are not irrelevant to our present predicament. A thief loves his own family and, for the sake of his love, he thinks that he can ruin and cheat other families. A noble loves his clan and feels justified in misusing and exploiting other clans. A feudal baron loves his estate and feels justified in abusing other barons. Today, the Nation-state has taken hold of us. Nationalism is a useful force so long as it inspires high ideals of duty, devotion to common welfare and sacrifice for a common good. But if it leads us to wrong paths, if it makes us feel that our country should be supported whether it is right or wrong, it deserves to be condemned. We have reached a stage when nationalism is not enough. Our needs and problems are of the twentieth century. Our loyalty should be to humanity as a whole. We must be able to feel it does not matter if our national interests suffer so long as humanity can be saved thereby. We must not allow our nationalist allegiances to disrupt the spiritual unity of the world.

(3) We must cast off pride and egoism, individual and collective. The root evil in human history is pride, that we are the chosen people called upon by Providence to educate others to our way of life. According to the Greek poets *hubris*, the insolence of pride, is the root of all tragedy, personal as well as national. It is the nemesis of pride that brought down the Pharaohs of Egypt, the rulers of Greece, the emperors of Persia, the Caliphs of Baghdad,

the Popes of Mediaeval Rome. It is not necessary to mention more recent examples. Only the arrogant believe that they have enough wisdom and virtue to rule the rest. The pride which apes humility is most dangerous. Providence has a way of teaching those who persist long and wilfully in ignoring great realities, the dignity of man, the sense of human equality and the right of all people to freedom.

We need today a sense of humility. We should give up the attitude that we are right and our opponents wrong or the attitude that we know we are not perfect but we are certainly better than our enemies. We seem to have become callous by years of mass-slaughter, hardened to horror. The events of last week demonstrate how we have lost all sense of decency in international relations. There is a great deal of barbarism in the most advanced and very much of civilization in the backward peoples. Once upon a time civilizations were destroyed by barbarians from without; in our age they are likely to be destroyed by barbarians from within whom we breed. A moral revolution to match the technological revolution has to be effected. We must develop new human relationships, foster intellectual solidarity and moral unity among nations which is the main aim of UNESCO. Governments should develop a heart and a conscience, a feeling that we are all members of a brotherhood that knows no race or class.

UNESCO has done a great deal towards the development of a world-consciousness. To give one example, a UNESCO expert group has declared that it does not regard any race as inferior in capacity, actual or potential, or unsuited on racial grounds for even the most exacting tasks that man can be called upon to undertake. Colonialism bases its right to govern on the assumption that the indigenous peoples cannot be taught the ways of civilization. There is a sense of superiority, conscious or unconscious, among many of the leading nations of the world.

If a sense of world loyalty is to be promoted, we must learn to appreciate other traditions of life. This country has for long been the meeting-point of many cultures, the Aryan and the Dravidian, the Hindu and the Buddhist, the Jewish and the Zoroastrian, the Moslem and the Christian. Now that the world is shrinking, the history of all races and cultures should become our object of study. If we wish to know one another better, we must give up our isolationism and superiority and accept that the standpoints of other cultures are as valid and their influence as powerful as our own. In this crucial moment of the history of mankind, we require a reorientation of human nature. We appreciate, in this connection, the valuable work which UNESCO is doing for East-West understanding.

Even today, we have unrest and strife in Eastern Europe, West Asia, in Africa. When the danger

of involving the world in another great war is not altogether past, let us act with humility and dispassion. We must show that even nations are capable of unselfish conduct as individuals sometimes are. The battle for the future must be won in the minds and hearts of men. Let each one of us develop an understanding mind and a contrite heart. I assure you that then wars between nations will become as obsolete as duels between individuals.

We are delighted to welcome the UNESCO General Conference to this country and to this city and we wish to assure the members that they have our best wishes for a successful conference.

EXHIBITIONS OF BOOKS, DELHI

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

6 November, 1956

IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE to open the two exhibitions, one of books and publications organized by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and the other of books published in Indian languages organized by the Sāhitya Akademi, and to present the State awards for excellence in printing and designing and prizes to distinguished authors who in the judgment of the Akademi have written the best books in the different languages of India in the years 1953-55. The writing of books, the printing, the designing for display and the publishing of them are important cultural activities. From the exhibitions of books, we will see how we have been steadily raising our standards of book production though we have still a long way to go. Printing also has improved considerably. I may say that from my own experience.

While printing, binding, etc. belong to the technique of book production where also a sense of art is necessary, the writing of books is essentially a creative art. It demands from the writer an austerity of mind, an intensity of experience, a feeling for life and a sense for words. He brings his mind to bear on all matters that vex and torment

the human soul. Every great literary work reflects a certain outlook on life, a vision of reality, a coherent moral attitude. It does not leave the reader just as it finds him. It gives him a deeper understanding of the human condition, a sympathy for our fellows. *eko rasaḥ karuṇa eva.* All creative writing has human significance and a social function.

The responsibility of writers in our generation is great. Mencius, the great Chinese thinker, says: 'In a nation the people are the most important, the State is next and the rulers the least important.' We have to prepare the minds of the people for the new age. We are engaged in a great social and economic revolution. We have set before ourselves great ideals. Our Constitution states them. The ideals will have to pass from shadow into substance, from theory into practice, from proclamations into realities. If we are not to stagnate or go backwards, we have to face our problems with austerity and discipline.

In recent months I visited some countries in the East and the West where I saw the youth march with a light in their eyes and a glow in their faces, eager to make their countries better than they are. This urge to strive and suffer and improve the material and moral conditions of our country will have to be imparted to our young men and women. We need a vast moral revolution which will make our many millions coalesce into a great people,

with pride in the country and confidence in its future. Good books can bring about the change in our mental and moral outlook.

From the happenings in the world we should learn a lesson. The existence of the United Nations Organization should not lull us into a false sense of security. We are living in a world where inner strength is essential. While we should strengthen the constructive forces, the disruptive trends which caused our downfall and subjection require to be resisted. There is so much that is dead to which we are still clinging. We must discard the dead and moralize our society.

There is plenty of excitement in our age to write about. I hope you will give us great works in the future. I should like to congratulate all those who have won the awards on their valuable contributions. I hope these will serve as incentives to better production and creative work in the future.

EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE*

10 November, 1956

I HAVE GREAT PLEASURE in opening the different exhibitions which have been organized, some by UNESCO and others by the different Ministries of the Government of India for UNESCO. They all centre round the main objectives of UNESCO, the spread of education, science and culture.

This country has from the earliest times devoted great attention to the dissemination and advancement of learning. In the days when we suffered a setback education also declined. With the advent of independence we also became sharers in the world revolution. We have in our country an awakened peasantry which is not willing any longer to put up with the abuses of landlordism and demands the rudiments of social justice, an aroused intelligentsia which is weary of incompetence, corruption, poverty, strife and woe, which calls for a new faith, a programme of national regeneration. New ideals are set before us which are inscribed in our Constitution, freedom, equality, justice and fraternity. Since independence we have been

*Address at the opening of exhibitions in connection with UNESCO General Conference in New Delhi, 10 November, 1956

interested in preparing our youth for a new India with its aims of economic progress and a democratic set-up. We have to prepare our youth for the new India. New minds are necessary for the new world. The Educational Exhibition gives a bird's-eye view of the progress we have made in the different types of education, basic, secondary, university, technical, etc.

There is a wrong idea that science is something unknown to the East. It is due to the marvellous progress that has been made in recent times in science and technology by the Western nations. It was Lord Acton who said that we do not have a proper perspective of history if we limit our attention to the last 300 years overlooking the last 3000. If we extend our vision, we will find that many of the basic ideas and techniques such as the alphabet, the numerals, the zero, the decimal system, etc. came from the East. But there is no doubt that the development got arrested some centuries ago and the East fell back. Today owing to the great progress in science and technology, the world has been brought together and scientific ideas are spreading over the whole world.

We have today in this country many scientific laboratories conducting research and working out the applications of science to agriculture and industry. We also have an Exhibition of multi-purpose river valley schemes. All these will give you some idea of the progress we are attempting to make.

Nations which cut themselves away from their historical roots may make brilliant splashes in the space of history but they will pass out, like meteors which burn themselves out when they are cut off from the fire which generates and feeds them. Indian thought now is not an exile from its past. The Pageant of India Exhibition tells us how Indian culture has had a continuous history for over 5000 years, though it has been enriched by other cultures which have come into the country. It today shows the influence of the Aryan and the Dravidian, the Hindu and the Buddhist, the Moslem and the Christian. They have all entered into the stream of India's history.

Handlooms, handicrafts, dolls and art exhibitions point out how we are keen on developing imagination, refining the feelings.

In the raising of the standards of education, science and culture, UNESCO has taken an important part. The Exhibition of UNESCO activities will help us to understand its role to some extent. The purpose of UNESCO, as defined in its Constitution, is 'to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations, through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for human rights and for fundamental freedoms of all'. The poor, the sick and the uneducated need not always remain so. Kant in his *Project For Perpetual Peace* insists that 'the rights of man are holy,

whatever the cost to the ruling power'. Since the planet is a limited area, he points out that the people must now endure each other's proximity. The moral writ must run everywhere.

All UNESCO's activities aim at promoting mutual understanding and moral unity. We are witnessing today the violent growing pains of the birth of a new world. We should strive to build a world where human intelligence will organize, develop and distribute the ample resources of nature so that all can live abundantly, a world in which our energies, physical and intellectual, will be devoted to human progress rather than to destruction, our labour will be directed to man's advancement.

SCIENCE, SERVICE AND SANCTITY*

14 November, 1956

I AM VERY HAPPY to be here and take part in the Founder's Day meeting. I had known the late Dr Birbal Sahni for a number of years. We happened to know each other well when we both served on the Andhra University Commission, Waltair. It was our desire to have him on the University Education Commission, but on account of his devotion to scientific research he declined to cut himself away from his work even for a short time. His pre-eminence in paleobotany made him a world authority on the subject. He trained a large number of scholars in that subject in his laboratory here. Sahni was not only a great research worker but a great patriot and, more than all, a great man. He was a man of sensitivity and imagination, of vision and passion, and this Institute which he founded in 1946 is the embodiment of his great personality. I hope for many years it will continue to enrich the science of paleobotany and keep his name alive.

It is a great fortune that after his passing away his wife Shrimati Savitri Sahni is carrying on his work with a rare devotion to his ideals and dedication to the Institute.

*Speech at the Birbal Sahni Institute of Paleobotany, Lucknow, 14 November, 1956

Today, our Prime Minister who opened this building in 1953 completes 67 years. His greatness is measured not only by his direct shaping of the course of events in our country, but by the indirect influence of his thoughts and personality on his contemporaries here and elsewhere. He has the gift of waking us up and making us think on fresh lines. His is a life of service to our country and humanity. It is our fervent wish that he may be spared for many years. His interest in this institution is known to you all.

November 14 has another significance. Early in the seventh century a story entitled *Barlaam and Josaphat* attributed in the next century to St. John of Damascus was in circulation in the Christian world. The Buddha, who in the course of time became Bodhisat, then Josaphat and finally Holy St. Josaphat of India is represented as a Hindu prince converted to Christianity by Barlaam. He was canonized by Sixtus V in 1589, the canonization was approved by Pius IX in 1873 and his feast day is observed on November 14.

On this day we are reminded of the values of science, service and sanctity. These are not exclusive ideals; they are parts of an integrated life. Pursuit of truth, service of man and holiness of life go together in truly civilized personalities. The troubles we are having in the world today may be traced to a divorce between science and sanctity.

Our scriptures declare: 'I prostrate before the

Buddha who is the essence and origin of the Vedas, who is pure and who is wisdom incarnate':

namo veda-rahasyāya namaste vedayonaye
namo buddhāya śuddhāya namaste jñāna-rūpiṇe.

The search for wisdom, for truth is the characteristic of the human being.

satyena panthā vitato devayānaḥ.

By truth is laid out the path leading to the gods. Gandhi used to say Truth is God. God is *satyasvarūpa*. Buddha is *saccanāma*. The research work you do in this Institute is a contribution to truth.

Our country suffered in the past on account of its scientific and technical backwardness. We are today striving to make up for lost time, and among the pioneers in this scientific revival was the founder of this Institute. I have no doubt that the work which you are doing will help not only the advancement of knowledge in paleobotany, but also the progress of humanity.

It is interesting to know that the late Birbal Sahni was a keen student of our religious classics. For him science and religion were not inconsistent with each other. Some of the greatest scientists of the world are conscious of the limitations of scientific knowledge and admit the need of another discipline. Speculations with regard to primal origins and ultimate ends are beyond the range of scientific knowledge. *avyaktādīni bhūtāni vyaktamadhyāni bhārata avyaktanidhanānyeva*. Science strives to know what

is in the centre of the stage; it cannot know the beginning or the end.

Scientific observation discloses the working of a mystery which inspires and informs the world process. There is an upward trend discernible in the world. The earth which was a molten mass cooled, seas appeared and forms of life. It proceeds from the amoeba through an infinite variety of creatures to the human being. All this suggests the presence of Spiritual Reality functioning in the world.

While we may be inclined to the belief in the inevitability of progress if our attention is limited to the sub-human world, in the human world the freedom of man has to be reckoned with. There are some who believe that history is the revelation of a higher purpose. Such a belief led Tennyson to think that the world was marching to the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the world. It underlies the Marxist interpretation of history. Bernard Shaw's *Back to Methuselah* (1921) expounds it. The evolutionists hope that the laws of natural selection will result in the replacement of the present imperfect society by one in which a finer humanity will inhabit a more perfect world.

The two World Wars and recent happenings do not support this optimism that there is an unmistakable advance or progress in human history. Continuity is not the chief characteristic of history. The discontinuous, the cataclysmic appears in all

the turning points of history. The impact of the fortuitous, the new which is untrammelled by the past, the unforeseen, the contingent, the revolutionary appears frequently in human history. History is not an even flow. It is obvious that progress is not a law of nature. Whether humanity will rise or fall does not depend on the stars but on ourselves. We have freedom. We have developed considerably in the matter of scientific knowledge and technical exploitation, motor cars, turbine engines, aeroplanes and atomic energy. They have brought an increase of pressure on life but we are not sure that they have brought an increase of human happiness and better social behaviour. Civilizations are not built of machines but of values. The driving forces of civilization come from within. The pursuit of scientific truth is a great value. It shows the mastery of the mind and the will of man over the forces of nature. Our great scientific advances are testimony to the creative vigour, to the splendid variety of the human spirit. The progress of civilization depends not only on intellectual creativeness but on the moral qualities of gentleness and compassion. If we develop these moral qualities, even the stars in their courses cannot defeat us. If we stifle the spirit in us, our society will go to pieces.

What is it that prevents us from using the new energy for creating unprecedented wealth ? It is the lust for power, domination and its obverse, fear.

Sometimes nations, like individuals, become neurotic, mad with the demands of unlimited egotism, frantic to possess power. Two relatively weak and small nations decided to resolve their conflict by a resort to force. Two big nations known to be the defenders of international morality began to use force instead of argument and within a few days the whole world was moving towards war with the threat of rocket bombs. In Hungary we find violence and bloodshed. The great nations of the world lost patience and were ready to bring the world to the brink of a third world war, violating all the principles of the United Nations Charter and confirming the worst suspicions of uncommitted peoples about Western imperialism and love of domination.

To control these selfish impulses we need effort and discipline. These can come not from science but from the discipline of religion, interpreted not in the narrow sense but in the large sense of self-knowledge and self-control. These will result in genuine love for mankind which will transcend group loyalties.

At a time like this we have to get back to the springs of our vitality. Unfortunately, a strange queerness has come into our life. We waste our energies over trivialities and find fault with one another. From the level of the village to the highest bodies, we have petty quarrels, personal feuds and we overlook the highest needs of our country. Let

us heal the deep divisions, social and economic, in our national life and build up unity. We are living in a dangerous world and we have to be vigilant. We will be saved only by our inner strength. We must subordinate our self-interest and work for national welfare.

Science should be used for social welfare. In a world torn by hatred and violence, institutions like this serve to emphasize the international character of scientific pursuits. It is my hope and wish that the workers in this Institute may work with single-mindedness and devotion and help the progress of our country and humanity.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Centenary Convocation Address

23 January, 1957

It is an honour, which I appreciate very much, to be called upon to address the Convocation on this historic occasion of the Centenary of this great University. As a senior member of the University associated with it for over 35 years in one capacity or another, may I welcome the new graduates distinguished in science and art, letters and law, and say how much we rejoice that they have today joined our fellowship. This ceremony is in the best traditions of this University which has always remained in close touch with the Universities of the world. It has sent its students to them for higher education and training and invited their scholars to join its teaching staff. Art and literature, science and scholarship know no geographical frontiers; they are above political passions. Though political differences may divide, professional collaboration unites.

In the first two generations of its rule in Bengal, the East India Company did not wish to introduce a modern system of education. For one thing, the leading figure of the period, Warren Hastings, had a real admiration for Indian classics and strove to revive the ancient indigenous culture. The

British leaders in India did not wish to disturb the minds of the Indian people and so left them free to cultivate their own ancient learning and systems of thought. The impetus for education in modern learning came from the Christian missionaries and progressive leaders like David Hare and Ram Mohan Roy. When Macaulay became the Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction, he drew up his famous Minute in February 1835, which decided the future of education in India on modern lines. Lord William Bentinck accepted Macaulay's advice and laid down that the funds available for educational purposes should be mainly devoted to the maintenance of schools and colleges of modern learning to be taught through the medium of English. Departments of public instruction were established in 1855 and the universities in 1857.

In the early years this University controlled collegiate education in a large part of India—Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, the then United Provinces and Central Provinces, as also in Burma and Ceylon. Gradually new universities sprang up, thus restricting the sphere of work of this University. When first the universities were established, they were of an affiliating character, being merely examining bodies. Thanks to the courageous and versatile leadership of the late Shri Asutosh Mookerjee, post-graduate departments in arts and sciences, pure and applied, were started under the direct control of the University. Advancement of

learning which was inscribed on the first seal of the University became its main objective.

The University has produced great scientists and eminent scholars. Of the nine Fellows who were elected to the Royal Society in our time, five worked in this University, Jagadis Bose, Raman, Saha, Krishnan and Mahalanobis. The two Nobel Laureates in Literature and Physical Science, Rabindranath Tagore and C. V. Raman, were associated with this University. Many scholars and scientists have made outstanding contributions to literature and art, science and scholarship, by their purity of thought and devotion to learning.

If we look at the history of the world, we will find that civilization is built by those great seers and scientists who are able to think for themselves, who probe the depths of space and time, read their secrets and use the knowledge they win for the good of mankind, *viśva-śreyas*, *loka-kalyāṇa*. The universities believe in the unconquerable spirit of man and should provide for men of learning and letters full scope for pursuing their studies without harassment. They must provide full opportunities to every scholar to follow within the standards imposed by his own pursuit his inquiry for truth wherever his intelligence, imagination and integrity lead him. No freedom is real if it does not secure freedom of mind. No religious dogma or political doctrine should interfere with the pursuit of truth.

The University in the last hundred years has opened to the people of this country a new world of ideas and helped to develop new horizons, support great causes, produce new movements of thought and life and help the spread of freedom, political and economic, religious and social. The cultural renaissance of our country, which was produced in the last hundred years, is due to the influence of modern thought and criticism on our ancient learning. When we train students in a university, when we make them inquisitive and critical, they will naturally demand political freedom and internal democracy. Macaulay said in the House of Commons before he came to India :

> Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive ? Or do we think that we can give knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent?....It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I know not. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English History..... The sceptre may pass away from us. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. These triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism : that empire is the imperishable

empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.

When we give the youth of the country education, with its emphasis on freedom, the right of rebellion and the absolute duty of the Government to rule with the consent of the governed, they will demand freedom from subjection. One of the first graduates of this University, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, gave us the great song *Bande Mātaram* where India's deep religious devotion was harnessed to the national cause in a vow of self-surrender. Patriotism became a religion with the youth of the country. Rabindranath Tagore gave us the national anthem *Jana-gaṇa-mana* which was first sung at the Congress session in this city on December 27, 1911. It was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on January 24, 1950. It looks on this country as one and requires us to use our spiritual energies for the cultural and emotional integration of the country.

When the natural results of modern education, unrest and discontent spread, Mr Allan Octavian Hume resolved to bring into existence a national gathering of Indians which could serve as a safety valve. He spoke to the graduates of this University on March 1, 1883 asking for fifty men of integrity and courage. 'If only fifty men, good and true, can be found to join as founders, the thing can be established and the further development will be comparatively easy.' He told them frankly: 'If they cannot renounce personal ease and pleasure,

then at present at any rate all hopes of progress are at an end; and India then neither desires nor deserves any better government than she enjoys.' He declared 'the eternal truth that self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness'. The first meeting of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay under the Presidentship of one of Bengal's illustrious leaders, W.C. Bonnerjee. The Congress was organized with faith in British intentions and with the blessings of the then Governor-General of India, the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava. The confidence in British good faith was shattered when Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal and the agitation that followed it aroused national consciousness and methods of passive resistance, *swadeśi*, boycott of foreign goods, national education, organization of public opinion and other forms of political action were adopted and these later became perfected by Gandhi. In December 1906 in the Calcutta Congress, Dadabhai Naoroji proclaimed Swaraj as the goal of the Indian people. When the partition was annulled, confidence increased and in the First World War India responded generously to the call of the British Government in the hope that the war which was fought to make the world safe for democracy would result in the establishment of self-government in India. When the war ended, the hopes of India were not fulfilled and India adopted what is now called satyāgraha which

ended in the transfer of power in 1947. This University produced men of extraordinary courage and endurance who took part in the political struggle and made unparalleled sacrifices. Many brave men and women, living and dead, opposed the forces of reaction and tyranny. Today we are celebrating the sixty-first birthday of Subhas Chandra Bose. The gifted people of Bengal however thwarted today, I have no doubt, will continue to oppose and resist, show the same spirit of suffering and sacrifice, until exploitation and injustice are replaced by a more equitable social order.

Political freedom is not merely for the sake of India but for the good of the world. Gandhi once wrote to Tagore: 'An India prostrate at the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity. An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a groaning world.' We are anxious to make the world safe for civilization. We are convinced that there is no alternative to peace in the present context when the annihilating power of war has increased so vastly. When the world is split into two groups with large stores of atomic weapons which can be used to devastate the world, there is the risk of catastrophe.[1]

[1] Sir John Slessor, a great authority on air warfare, says: 'A world war in this day and age would be general suicide;' and adds: 'It never has and never will make any sense trying to abolish any particular *weapon of war*. What we have got to abolish is war.'—*The Listener*, 11-2-1954

Lord Adrian in his address as President of the British Asso-

But the future is in our own hands. Sheer self-interest requires us to relieve the tensions that beset the world, and establish decency and friendship in a world which has apparently forgotten them. We must create and develop the forces of spirit which will revive lost hopes and ignored values. We must recognize that mutual hatred is more deadly than mutual violence. We must civilize human nature by adopting the university spirit which pleads for sanity in a period of hysteria, for moderation in place of intemperance, for the rigours of thought instead of easy surrender to partisan slogans.

If the world is to be a unity, peoples of different nations must be made conscious of what they have in common. The world must develop a cultural unity before it can become a political fact. Peace is not the absence of strife or the silence of guns. Absence of conflict is negative, precarious, liable to be shattered. Peace is goodwill for others, understanding of those who are different from ourselves in race and religion. It is an appreciation of the feelings

ciation, 116th annual meeting at Oxford said: 'We must face the possibility that repeated atomic explosions will lead to a degree of general radio-activity which no one can tolerate or escape;' and he added: 'Unless we are ready to give up some of our old loyalties, we may be forced into a fight which might end the human race.'

Air Chief Marshal Sir Philip Joubert says: 'With the advent of the hydrogen bomb it would appear that the human race has arrived at a point where it must abandon war as a continuation of policy or accept the possibility of total destruction.'

of those whose worship is different from our own. This is goodwill; this is peace.

Ram Mohan Roy wrote as far back as 1831 to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France: 'It is now generally admitted that not religion only but unbiased commonsense as well as the accurate deductions of scientific research lead to the conclusion that all mankind are one great family of which numerous nations and tribes existing are only branches. Hence enlightened men in all countries feel a wish to encourage and facilitate human intercourse in every manner by removing as far as possible all impediments to it in order to promote the reciprocal advantage and enjoyment of the whole human race.' This note of universalism is a prominent feature of Indian thought from the early days. The spirit of Indian culture has been one of assimilation, synthesis, not negation or exclusion. The Aryan and the Dravidian, the Hindu and the Buddhist, the Muslim and the Christian have all been taken into India's history. We are ever willing to learn from others though we do not wish to become subservient to them. We have no false pride of self-sufficiency of Indian culture. We take in whatever is valuable without losing our own identity.

Rabindranath Tagore inaugurated the era of world co-operation. He visited different parts of the world, East and West, and gave the message of tolerance, universality and understanding. His

Viśva-Bhārati bears witness to his faith in cultural co-operation.

Mahatma Gandhi spoke words of wisdom, which are also a warning, when he defined the relations of national autonomy and international order: 'My idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole of the country may die, so that the human race may live. There is no room for race hatred here. Let that be our nationalism.' Physical survival is not all; spiritual integrity is more important. Those who worship the Cross know that material defeat and death may make for spiritual victory.

Universities are one of the strongest influences for peace. Politics is the art of the immediate. Statesmanship rests on longer and deeper views. It is the universities, the communities of scholars that should help us to obtain them. They must give us courses in astronomy, metaphysics and world history, and teach us a sense of proportion and perspective, for they insist on the universal, supernational values acknowledging a world community and strive to enclose national groups within a stable equilibrium. They strive after comprehension, open-mindedness, disinterested understanding of what is alien to us. To become a spectator of time is a cure for bitterness of mind, for weakness of soul. The universities of the world form a great fraternity binding together their members all over the world.

It has been said that the weakness of the present generation is that it is rootless and the true function of a university is to take it back to its roots. We must do so with sympathy and understanding. If we are not to be infected with the speed, the nervous intensity and the growing incoherence of modern life, we must have a few solitary moments in which we can attend to the needs of the spirit. Religion holds before man's eyes a vision of ultimate values. Man is not a lonely contestant in a meaningless world. Unfortunately, as in other parts of the world, it has degenerated into superstition, sectarianism, enslavement, over-confidence, bigotry. Religious reformers attempted to purify the religion and base it on the central simplicities of communion with the Supreme and love for man. Any system of religious thought has to satisfy two basic requirements. It must state the truth which is founded in human experience and interpret this truth for every new generation. The truth must be able to speak to the situation. The great religious teachers of the period tried to reckon with both the poles of eternity and time. The eternal truth must be relevant to the modern mind. In a very real sense we live in a new world. The unity of knowledge is new, the nature of human community is new, the order of ideas is new and we cannot return to what they have been in the past. Religious truths are beyond the accidents of science or criticism. They rest their claims on the moral

and spiritual facts of human nature. The religious thinkers of the period turned back to the *prasthāna-traya* and demonstrated that the religious message developed in these three works was rational, ethical and spiritual and can satisfy the demand for depth, comprehensiveness and integrality. It is *brahma-vidyā*, *yogaśāstra* and *kṛṣṇārjuna-saṁvāda*, the truth, the way and the life. The seers announced that they had seen the Supreme Person shining like the sun that dwells beyond the veil of darkness.

The fruit of religion is ethics, individual and social. Christ attracts but the Church repels.[2] Social reformers like Ram Mohan Roy and Isvara Chandra Vidyasagar fought against the perversions of our society, like sati and caste. They advocated the re-marriage of widows, abolition of polygamy and encouraged women's education. Attempts to free women from the disabilities which society imposed on them have been largely successful with the result that we have today for the first time in this University a woman Chancellor.

It is no use condemning the work of the old universities. They have done their best in difficult circumstances. But much remains to be done. Our revolution is not over. We have to defend ourselves against the forces of violence, fanaticism and unreason. We have to struggle against poverty and disease, illiteracy and unemployment. We have

[2] The Report of the Archbishops Commission on Evangelism, 1945

to wage a long fight against that darkness in men's minds. To some extent we are responsible for the intellectual inadequacy, for the spiritual illiteracy of those whom we produce, for their acquiescence in social injustices, for the lack of the crusading spirit against the evils of our society. Let us work with faith and weld together our people into a single corporate community and make them the defenders of peace. The reign of brutal violence will not last for ever. Redeemed humanity will emerge, the habit of mutual forbearance will recover and truth and love will triumph. *satyam eva jayate.*

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, KHARAGPUR*

24 January, 1957

YOU HAVE DONE ME a great honour by asking me to speak to you this morning.

This is my first visit to the Institute and I am happy that it has attained to its present eminent position by the help of the State and the Central Governments. The graduates who have received their degrees today are entering life at an exciting time in our history and are expected to help in some small measure the upbuilding of our country. I offer my warmest felicitations to them. I hope in the years to come there will also be women graduates in Technology and Engineering.

By an Act of Parliament last year, you have been acknowledged to be an institution of national importance, with all the powers and the responsibilities of such an institution. We have suffered in the past from our technical backwardness and national incoherence. This institution helps to remedy these defects in some measure.

It is not necessary for me to specify the different departments for which you have provision here. You have facilities for undergraduate training and for post-graduate study and research. The latter

*Speech at the second anniversary of the Institute

holds up before us the ideal that we should not only spread knowledge but advance it.

Though located in Bengal, it has over 30 per cent of students from other parts of India. The Indian staff and students are representative of all parts of India. At a time when narrow and local loyalties are manifesting themselves, when communal tensions and provincial rivalries are still active, an institution like this where students from different parts live together will help to check these dangerous tendencies.

Your Institute bears witness to the two principal features of the modern world, that we are members one of another, that there is no decree of God or man which compels us to be sick and hungry, poor and unemployed.

The strong shall help the weak is the foundation of all civilized existence. This Institute is an illustration of international collaboration. The T.C.M., the Colombo Plan, UNESCO and the University of Illinois have helped you in raising your buildings which are clean, pleasing and spacious, and have given you some members of your staff.

Though we are politically free, we are economically enslaved. Once upon a time we accepted our degradation as inevitable. Now we know there are ways of removing it. It is technically possible today to abolish poverty altogether. The physical obstacles to human wellbeing can be removed by modern advances in science and technology. We should

have more institutions of this character, if we are to raise effectively the material standards of our people.

It is also possible to unify the world and all of us can settle down as good neighbours. A future more glorious than the past is open to us. And yet we are afraid of what lies before us, for we see that there is no limit to the possibilities of scientific destruction. The obstacles to human wellbeing are in the minds of men. Hatred, folly, erroneous beliefs and evil passions make us incapable of seeing the truth and working for it. To counter these tendencies we need, in addition to technological knowledge and skill, an understanding heart, wisdom. It is because of the lack of wisdom that many of us are mentally unstable and morally unsound.

I am delighted to know that you are not producing mere engineers who do their jobs with mechanical efficiency. You wish to endow them with a human outlook, equip them with a vision and a purpose. You have a course in humanities which includes literature, civics, history, economics, industrial psychology and philosophy. This is to enable the students to acquire a sense of values. As the *Bhagavadgītā* has it, we should aim at wisdom as well as knowledge, *jñānam vijñāna sahitam*. At a time when we are obsessed with technical achievement rather than with absolute values, with practical work rather than with a full life, it is good to realize that technology is for man and not man for technology. The material things of the world

are to be used for expanding man's knowledge and enriching the treasures of the spirit. It is not enough to feed the human animal or train the human mind. We must also attend to the needs of the human spirit. We must learn to live from a new basis, discover the reserves of spirituality, the sense of the sacred found in all religions.

There is no inconsistency between the spirit of science and that of religion. It is a superficial view of both science and religion that gives semblance to a conflict between them. Our religious beliefs should not contradict rational thought. If we review the temporal, we will catch the Light of the Eternal.

What is called modernity is the result of scientific activity, not merely the system of gadgets but the development of an outlook which is opposed to the creative functions of the mind. Copernicus showed that our planet was not the centre of the universe. Darwin demonstrated that man is also a part of the natural world and did not differ markedly from other intelligent animals. Freud showed how large a part the unconscious play in our life. Our power of controlling our thoughts and impulses is much less than what we deceive ourselves into believing. An interpretation of science based on these views makes us indifferent to the creative urges in man. We try to repress those aspects of human nature which do not fit into the moulds of scientific thought. Lord Rutherford, the great

physicist, said cheerfully to Samuel Alexander, the eminent philosopher: 'When you think of all the years you have been talking about those things, Alexander, and what does it all add up to? *Hot air*, nothing but *hot air*.'

The aim of the natural scientist is to discover the external world of reality. By scientific methods we do not know anything directly about reality. Scientific information is indefinite and uncertain in its import. It gives us signs which we have to interpret. The scientist assumes that the world is governed by a system of laws which can be understood though not in a comprehensive way. The only interpretation that is logical is that which points to a central mystery. We know only in part, not the beginning, not the end. We should admit that the mystery is not capable of adequate logical description or linguistic statement. We should not only be tolerant, but appreciative of other points of view. Gandhi explained why he remained a Hindu: 'Believing as I do in the influence of heredity and being born in a Hindu family, I have remained a Hindu. I should reject Hinduism if I found it inconsistent with my moral sense or my spiritual growth. But on examination, I have found it to be the most tolerant of all the religions known to me because it gives the Hindu the largest scope for self-expression. Not being an exclusive religion, it enables its followers not merely to respect all the other religions but also to admire and assimilate

whatever may be good in them.' In Tagore's Santiniketan 'no man's faith is to be decried'. Gandhi and Tagore are clear that we should not accept any religious belief which is intellectually unconvincing and morally repugnant.

A study of classics gives us a sense of serenity, a knowledge of the traditions which have taken centuries to build. When we stand imaginatively for a while in another age, we are able to assess better the problems of the present. In the restless rush of modern life, it is wise for us to renew our acquaintance with the great creations of the human mind and spirit. It helps us to appreciate the resources which man has within himself. We must have a vision of greatness and our classics provide us with it. When different weapons failed to kill Indrajit, Lakṣmaṇa says: 'If it is true that Rāma is *dharmātmā* and *satyasandha*, let this arrow kill Indrajit.'

dharmātmā satyasandhaś ca rāmo dāśarathir yadi
śarainam jahi rāvaṇīm.

Sītā says: 'Though humiliated and deprived of his kingdom, Rāma is my husband and my teacher.'

dīno vā rājyahīno vā yo me bhartā sa me guruḥ.

We live in a dangerous world where nations still seek their ends by the unashamed use of force, still seek to enforce injustice by blood and steel. We need sanity of mind and generosity of heart in these difficult times. Peace can be won only by a fusion of imagination and purpose. Our aim is not

to beat down the enemy or win an argument. We are out to reach an agreement. The courses in this Institute, I dare say, will make you not only expert technologists but good citizens.

ETHIRAJ COLLEGE, MADRAS*

27 January, 1957

IT IS A PLEASURE for me to be here, meet you all and know something about the institution which bears the name of my old friend V. L. Ethiraj. I am glad that he has given us this college and I hope he will do whatever is necessary to establish it on firm foundations.

'What are we to do with our lives ?' asked H. G. Wells, and said in answer, 'put our minds in order.' In other words, mental slums will have to be cleared up as much as physical slums. Education is the means by which we can tidy up our minds, acquire information, as well as a sense of values. Education should give us not only elements of general knowledge or technical skills but also impart to us that bent of mind, that attitude of reason, that spirit of democracy which will make us responsible citizens of our country. A true democracy is a community of citizens differing from one another but all bound to a common goal.

Unfortunately, in the new society we are building the individual human being is subjected to the levelling impact of standardized emotions. The human being is treated as a means and not an end in itself. Our differences are flattened out, our atti-

* Speech at the prize distribution at the College

tudes become uniform. In the name of a questionable future and distant good, we are asked to subordinate to it our impulses and emotions. We forget that the individual's welfare is the end of the State.

When we call ourselves a democracy, we mean that the State exists for promoting the good of its members. Our real good consists in the development of our inward resources. Many of us, however, live on the surface of life, echo the sentiments which are put into our heads by the radio or the film or the newspaper. It is our duty to think for ourselves, reflect on the data supplied to us. The study of great classics gives us a proper sense of perspective. The classical spirit is a refusal to acquiesce in the immediate, a refusal to be the slaves of current fashions and tastes, a refusal to be content with the easy and the obvious. It is a determination to seek the highest even if it is difficult and remote. In this country we have always laid stress on silent thinking and meditation. We are mostly extroverts. It is said that God made woman a thing of beauty and then gave her a tongue and spoiled it all. We do not withdraw into ourselves and find out what is wrong with us. A life of contemplation can be lived under almost all conceivable conditions. We can take this habit into the office or factory, shop or college. It does not preclude immediate and vital relationships. It precludes the waste and weariness of social routine.

It is said that the path of life is as difficult as walking on a razor's edge. We need discipline of thought. We should not wish to destroy our opponents, but strive to influence their attitudes and their behaviour. We should commend our views to those who differ from us by the character of our voice and the sympathy of our example.

While at college we must learn to respect others, not only their life and property but their intangible possessions, their good name and reputation. We are given to small talk, gossip and take pleasure in slandering others. We should try to avoid all that.

You are living in an age when there are great opportunities for women in social work, public life and administration. Society requires women of disciplined minds and restrained manners. Whatever line of work you undertake, you should bring to it an honest, disciplined mind. You will then succeed and have the joy of your work.

I hope this institution will grow in numbers and virtue in the years to come.

SANSKRIT COLLEGE, MYLAPORE, MADRAS

GOLDEN JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

27 January, 1957

IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE for me to be here this evening and pay my tribute to the founder of the college, the late Shri V. Krishnaswamy Ayyar, and the good work that this college has been doing all these years. If this function did not take place last year which was the year of its golden jubilee, it is due to a series of difficulties which I had in recent months. I am responsible for the delay and beg to be excused for it.

As a young student in the Madras Christian College, I used to run to the Madras High Court to listen to the late Shri V. Krishnaswamy Ayyar arguing in the famous Arbuthnot case. I had a chance of meeting him once or twice and found him to be a delightful and warm-hearted person. The qualities which he admired most were kindness and integrity and those which he disliked most were cruelty and hypocrisy. He was eloquent both in speech and in writing. I can still recall the way in which he moved his large audience at the Madras Convocation in 1911 when he spoke with great warmth of feeling and remarkable distinction of phrase on the greatness of Indian culture.

The great leaders who moulded our thought in the last century were well-versed in Sanskrit, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Isvara Chandra Vidyasagar, Rabindranath Tagore, Vivekananda, Aurobindo, Shraddhananda and Tilak. There is a revival of interest in Sanskrit studies today.

Many of the Indian languages are derived from Sanskrit and even the Dravidian languages have been much influenced by it. Sanskrit is even now the medium of communication among pundits in different parts of India. Sanskrit literature has moulded our habits of mind and patterns of behaviour. Its sway extends over large parts of Asia.

The late Shri V. Krishnaswamy Ayyar brought out a collection of important stories from our classics called *Āryacaritam*. The great classics are so welded into the marrow of our being that we often forget that we are what we are because of what they have made us. Sanskrit literature has plumbed the depths of the human spirit. The Epics and the Purāṇas, the Kāvyas and the Nāṭakas reach down the centuries and shed their light on different aspects of our experience. They make permanent some moment of experience, some vision of beauty, some thrill of joy, some stab of pain, which man could not bear to lose. A few great men of genius have scaled the heights for us and made them accessible. They have a strange power to speak to each one of us in the language he or she can best understand.

They help us to free ourselves from the cramping influence of the environment in which we live and look at the world from a more universal standpoint. If we are obsessed with the problems of our time, we become prisoners of a period. We will produce a world with every device for living and not much to live for. The Sanskrit classics tell us the way to the hidden country to which our real selves belong. The brief span of life given to us is to be used to reveal the enduring, the universal, the spiritual in us.

maunān na sa munir bhavati nāraṇyavasanān muniḥ
svalakṣaṇaṁtu yo veda sa muniḥ śreṣṭha ucyate.

He is not a sage who observes silence, nor he who lives in the woods but he who knows his own nature is the best of sages. Our classics have been translated into Indian and foreign languages.

Great works are national in one sense, but they are also universal in character. Any literature, if it is to fulfil its aim as literature, should go beyond the restricted limits of its peculiarities and endeavour to portray the feelings and sentiments common to humanity, and demonstrate the essential universality of man. Only thus can a national literature maintain its special character and yet fulfil its role as a part of world literature.

Sanskrit is the main language of the Hindu scriptures which have inspired a distinctive way of life. They tell us that Hindu religion is more than a creed, dogma, rite, or ceremony. It is an

outlook which calls upon us to organize the life of the individual as well as that of society. The work of this institution has received the blessings of the *ācāryas* of the different religious persuasions—Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita. Respect for other religious views is an expression of *ahimsa* or love.

aṇubhyaś ca mahadbhyaś ca śāstrebhyaḥ kuśalo naraḥ
sarvataḥ sāram ādadyāt puṣpebhya iva ṣaṭpadaḥ.

Like a bee collecting honey from flowers the intelligent should glean truths from all scriptures, small and great.

Too much blood has been unnecessarily and unjustly shed in the name of dogmatic obsessions.

We want a world order which preserves regional cultures and not a world where everyone wears the same clothes, speaks the same words and cherishes the same beliefs. The conception of a great family of nations living together in peace, practising their own beliefs and regulated by justice within the law remains our common objective.

It is our duty to be loyal to the spirit of our ancient seers and make changes in the letter of their directions. Simply because we repeat an old question, it does not follow that the question is the same. Questions are framed in relation to their context. The intellectual presuppositions of one age are not those of another. The conditions of our lives have been basically altered in the last fifty years more than in the last two or three thousand

years. Civilization is not a static condition. It is a perpetual movement. We have inherited not only elements which make for greatness but also forces of reaction, narrow-mindedness, disunion. We keep a tradition alive not by repeating what has been said but by meeting our problems in the same spirit in which the old seers met theirs. Our respect for tradition should not harden into an abandonment of independent thought and an unquestioning submission to authority. It is our duty to cast off whatever hampers our sense of justice even though it may be venerable with the history of ages or consecrated by familiarity.

Many of the well-known pundits of South India were educated in this institution. Its work and influence have been steadily growing. The Government of India have appointed a Sanskrit Education Commission which is expected to suggest ways and means for furthering Sanskrit studies. In different parts of the country there are attempts to start Sanskrit colleges and universities. Here we have the Sanskrit College and the Kuppuswami Sastri Sanskrit Research Institute. These may expand and grow into a great school and co-ordinate Sanskrit studies in this part of the country.

Shri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer has been all these years attending to the work of the college with filial piety and devotion to Indian culture and Sanskrit learning. I have no doubt that under his fostering care and the goodwill of friends here this

institution in the next fifty years will grow in usefulness and numbers.

It is now my pleasure to unveil his portrait which, I hope, will remind the generations of students of his sense of duty and love of Sanskrit.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY

Centenary Convocation Address

29 January, 1957

It is a great honour to be called upon to address this distinguished assembly on this historic occasion of the Centenary of the Madras University. I also appreciate the distinction which the University has conferred on me today by enrolling me among its honorary graduates. I took my first degree, that of Bachelor of Arts, at the Convocation of this University in 1907, fifty years ago. My Master's Degree I took in 1909, and the third, of Licentiate in Teaching, in 1911. These were earned by me; the present one is bestowed by grace and so I am grateful.

I have had some acquaintance with several universities in my time and have pleasure in testifying to the high reputation which this University enjoys both at home and abroad. Those responsible for the management of this University during this period deserve our warmest congratulations, especially your present Vice-Chancellor who has been actively associated with this University for over a generation.

This University has had a long and distinguished record. It has been responsible in South India for higher education in arts and sciences, medicine and

engineering, teaching and law. From this parent institution branched off the Universities of Mysore and Andhra, Osmania and Annamalai, Travancore and Venkatesvara. I hope that these younger Universities maintain the high academic standards for which the Madras University is known.

The graduates of this University are to be found in all parts of India and have won for this University reputation for competence and capacity. It has given to this country leadership in science and letters, education and social work, administration and public service. The first Fellow of the Royal Society in our time belonged to this University, S. Ramanujan. His note-books are still studied with great care. After that three graduates of our University became Fellows of the Royal Society, Raman, Krishnan, Chandrasekharan. The only Indian Nobel Laureate in Physics, Professor C. V. Raman, who is still engaged in important researches, is an example and inspiration to other workers in the field of science. The University has given to our country great administrators whose names are well known. The last Governor-General of India, Shri C. Rajagopalachari with his long record of outstanding service is a graduate of this University. We have done well in the past despite the criticisms levelled against Indian universities.

To this learned audience it is not necessary for me to speak at length of the spirit of intellectual adventure and pioneering which has marked the

South Indians from ancient times. Intercourse between China and South India is evident from the record of a Chinese Mission to Kanchi in the second century B.C. A Chinese coin of about the same date was found in Chandravalli in Mysore. The kingdoms of Indo-China and the Archipelago were in active touch with South India. Many of the Buddhist monks went from South India to China and other parts and settled there to spread the message of the Buddha. Chinese historians mention the exchange of embassies between the Chinese rulers and the Pallava kings of Kanchi in the eighth century A.D.

Immigration from South India to Java continued for several centuries. By the end of the seventh century A.D. a Hindu-Javanese civilization was flourishing. Agastya became the most popular saint of the Hinduised civilization of Java. Shortly before the middle of the eighth century, a Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in Sumatra (Suvarṇadvīpa) had Śrīvijaya as its capital, ruled by the Śailendras who were the most energetic propagators of the Indian civilization in the Archipelago. In their time Buddhism became the prominent religion in Java. To them we owe the great Borobudur temple with its still beauty, an example of supreme art which is the result of the practice of austerity, *tapasyā*, which eschews all desire for name and fame but pours out the best in oneself with love and devotion. The inscriptions on the covered foot of the monument

are written in the old Javanese which is derived from a South Indian script, called the Pallava script. We have Śaiva temples at Prambanan belonging to the same period. Their walls are decorated with reliefs depicting the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Buddhism and Śaivism were the two official religions of the Śailendra period. Scholars and teachers of South India have always been eager to share their knowledge with others even in distant countries.

The stories of our past remind us of the spiritual qualities of freedom, honour, brotherhood and goodwill which made us feel united and go forth sharing our riches with neighbouring peoples. We prospered through the centuries when these qualities moved us and we declined when they were drowned by the afraid and the arrogant, who filled our minds with doubt and fear, and blinded our vision with clouds of illwill. If we retain the pioneering, adventurous and enterprising spirit as also the faith and the idealism that made us do great things in the early centuries, if we shake off the prejudices which divide us from one another, there is no valid cause for fear. We are not the helpless tools of impersonal forces which we do not understand and cannot control. We can take a hand in shaping the future of things.

There are different views of history, that it is cyclical, that it is linear, that it is spiral. The Greeks thought that history was a cyclical movement

governed by impersonal laws. With the preacher of Ecclesiastes, 'the thing that hath been is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done' and there is no new thing under the sun. The Jews, the Christians and the Muslims held that it was the unfolding of a cosmic pattern, an act of God beginning at the creation and destined to end in the last judgment, that the last day of reckoning would read what the first day of creation wrote. The Chinese held that history was a continuous series of variations on a common theme. History, according to the spiral view, moves on with dips and loops, blind alleys and setbacks, to a higher purpose. Many of us under the sway of the scientific spirit are inclined to a historical determinism. Still others feel that history is a chaotic, disorderly flux, that caprice is king. There is another view which regards history as the outcome of our ideals and ideas, hopes and fears, ambitions and policies. It is produced by a combination of many causes, some necessary, some accidental. The force of the human spirit is an essential factor. There is a fundamental distinction between men and things. We cannot force men to do what we want. In the last resort they may prefer death to conformity. There is an element of indeterminacy in human nature. It has boundless possibilities. The great leaders, Socrates, the Buddha, Christ bring something new and inaugurate fresh stages in the development of man ; *rājā kālasya kāraṇam*. Man has a real role in the making of history.

He can make a choice from a number of possible alternative developments. What we will do here and now will make a difference to the future. In human life freedom and necessity are bound together. They condition one another. So also in history. There is nothing inevitable. When things happen, they may be related to the past; till they happen, we could not have foreseen them. One age does not follow another in normal succession but sometimes saps the bond of continuity and founds a new order of things. We have both continuity and innovation in history. We cannot neglect individuals and deal only with the laws of history. The spirit bloweth where it listeth. The study of man in society cannot become an exact science. Man is the future of man. It is through the efforts of individual men that we can re-make our future.

If the world is disorderly and unstable, it reflects the state of our minds. We are a generation not in revolt but in retreat. It is true that all generations have passed through doubt and uncertainty. It is said that man's trouble started when the first man met the second. Other generations may have seen darker times, more perilous periods than this. In our age the pace of events has speeded up and relatively leisurely times have given way to periods of swift change. We live in a world of bewilderment and moral wandering. The practical results in medicine, engineering, industry, agriculture and warfare are so spectacular that we seem to believe that

these feats of scientists will advance our happiness but they have given us alarm and we live in a state of disharmony, transition, paradox, uncertainty.

The main cause of our malaise is our uprootedness. We are detached from our spiritual foundations which give us poise and balance. Many of us have lost our historical roots and become exiles from our past. Things nearest to us in time are not nearest to us in spirit. The froth on the surface of history does not count so much as the deep underlying currents. It is these that have given us strength and vitality, that have enabled us to live all these centuries. If we lose confidence in ourselves, we cannot retain the confidence of others. We need a renewal of human nature, a creative transformation which will lift us out of fear and suffering, out of despondency and helplessness, which will set us to work bravely for the new world. New men are needed for the new world. This new world is deeply concerned with science and technology. We are inclined to regard even arts and literary criticism as sciences. Some philosophers wish to confine philosophy to logical analysis. Some look upon religion as an illusion. Such a scientific orientation is likely to upset the values of civilization.

There is, however, no incompatibility between the findings of science and the doctrines of religion. The search of truth is their common goal though they have different ways of approach to it. Since God is Truth, *satya-svarūpa*, the quest of truth is the

quest of God. Man who makes the machine is greater than the machine. He who splits the atom is greater than the atom. Science does not suggest the omnipotence of matter. It suggests the supremacy of the spirit of man. The spirit which moves in the minds of men, which inspires and guides them in this quest is divine. The word *Brahman* connotes both the truth which is sought and the spirit in us which seeks it. A scientific view of the world reveals to us a central mystery which is not disclosed to scientific observation. Our attitude to it should be one of piety, humility and adoration. We must acknowledge that truth belongs to God and ideas belong to men. The poison of intolerance is inconsistent with the mystery of God. Too much blood has been unnecessarily and unjustly shed in the name of religious doctrine. The different religions are great spiritual achievements of man and we should take pride not in one special production of mankind but in all, for all are fellow-pilgrims treading our way to the truth in every great faith. *Tirukkural* is claimed by the followers of Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism and teaches a universal humanism. True religion requires us to extend our sympathy even to those who do not belong to our group. Religious pride may make us hold that true religion is our own, that 'we are the people, and wisdom shall die with us'.[1]

Science enlarges our concepts of God and religion

[1] *John*, XII. 2

saves science from going astray. Religion should not end in wars and inquisitions nor science in Hiroshimas and Nagasakis. It is said that a man without religion is like a horse without a bridle. We need the discipline of religion to civilize our nature, to restrain the greed, the callousness and the brutality in us. Religion, however, should not be interpreted in a narrow, sectarian, dogmatic sense but in the broad sense indicated by our great seers and *bhaktas*, the *nāyanārs*, the *ālvārs* and the *ācāryas*. They are united in telling us that we will not be able to create an ordered society unless we learn to master ourselves. In the disordered and bewildered world in which we live, we must learn to live by the values the religious thinkers set before us. We can have peace only if we have the courage of renunciation. Through illness, poverty, or death we begin to feel that the world is not made for us. However beautiful our dreams may be, circumstances may forbid them. In such situations courage is what we need most.

The purpose of religion is not merely to change the opinions of men but to change the lives of men. We must make clean the heart within us. In *vicāra* we accept the religious demands; in *ācāra* we ignore them. Theoretical knowledge of the ultimate truth is not enough—*vākyārthajñānamātrāt na amṛtam*. 'Not everyone that saith unto me, "Lord Lord", shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven but he that doeth the Will of my Father which is in heaven,'

said Jesus. We will be judged not by our words but by our actions, not by resounding declarations but by our deeds. An English poet wrote:

> Knowledge we ask not—knowledge thou hast lent
> But Lord, the will—there lies our bitter need.
> Grant us to build, above the deep intent
> The deed, the deed.

The function of a religious man is to disturb, his duty is to wake up the sleepers, to shake the pillars of orthodoxy. He is at once the product and the preceptor of his time. When we listen to him we are troubled and made unsure of our accepted habits. He draws our attention to the distance between our professions and our practices.

We are victims of social divisions and disagreements. However earnest we may be in our intentions, there is not yet that emotional integration among our peoples. Caste divisions, class consciousness still dominate us.

Religion is not reserved for philosophers and theologians. It is intended for the ordinary man also. In a world dangerously distracted and troubled, even ordinary men require a sense of the sacred. The *bhakti* cult is the most popular in South India. Even today we find devotees go from place to place, chanting on their way to temples, pouring out their hearts before the deity. 'Oh God, destroy the me in me and stand thou in my stead. Oh God, all that is mine is thine.' True giving is a giving of oneself. The essence of life for Muhammad

was Islam or surrender to the will of God. All religione emphasize the importance of prayer. Muhammad valued it above all else. He enjoined it on his followers five times a day and turned the world into a prayer-hall. The *bhaktas* who have made the literature of their age have sung of God as *daridra-nārāyaṇa*. God has no wants, yet He clothes himself in human need that we may serve Him. He has no hunger and yet He comes asking for bread that we may offer Him. He comes in the guise of a beggar that we may bestow. Jesus said: 'I was hungry and you fed me. I was naked and you clothed me. I was thirsty and you quenched my thirst.'

The *bhakti* movement demands democratic behaviour. *nāsti teṣu jāti-vidyā-rūpa-kula-dhana-kriyādi-bhedaḥ*. Among the devotees there is no distinction of caste, learning, beauty of form, clan, possessions, occupation, etc.[2] In our country man has become man's worst enemy for he is cut off from truth and the spirit in him is obscured. The advent of independence has led to a quickening of the national conscience against social injustice. There is a loosening of the bonds of caste and an attempt to give equal rights to all men and women.

In the light of the fundamentals of religion, the ups and downs of our political fortunes or the twists and turns of international relations should not

[2] *Nārada Bhakti Sūtra*, 72

disturb our poise and faith. We should not get excited. Whatever the provocation, we should not use angry words or adopt bitter attitudes. We should not waste our time by thinking of the cards which we wish to hold. Our task is to play the hand which history has dealt and play it as well as we can. We must move onward in the stream whether we like it or not. If we do not recognize this forward-moving development, if we reject it and desire to go backward, we will be divided against ourselves and be torn between the two impulses, waste our strength and become split in our nature. We must march forward and feel that what is ahead of us is better than what is behind us. We may remember our yesterdays, but we will have to work for the tomorrows.

In this unquiet modern world which science and technology have compressed into a single neighbourhood, this University and others, by their united efforts may further the cause of peace and understanding. A university is a fellowship, devout in its admiration of what has been achieved in the past, yet believing in the richness of the future which lies before us all, a fellowship which transcends all barriers of race and nation, of class and creed and yet honours the artistic and intellectual traditions of a variety of peoples. The scholars and scientists are not always immune to the political passions which infect their countries. But in the pursuit of knowledge they, with their

austerity and detachment, can rise above them and see in their political enemy their professional colleague. In the universities at least we must be able to lift our gaze above national interests and breathe the pure air of disinterested inquiry.

The leaders of every university must hold aloft the spirit of man. We need all our skill, fortitude and determination to shape the future along democratic lines not only of our country but of the world. If this University has faith and produces in the years to come men and women of learning and virtue, skill and judgment, piety and character, we will bear the intolerable, achieve the impossible and establish the reign of truth, justice and love on earth.

DELHI UNIVERSITY

SPECIAL CONVOCATION*

16 February, 1957

MAY I EXPRESS to Professor Toynbee and Dr Penfield how delighted we are that they have today joined our fellowship.

I am not competent to make any comments on Professor Toynbee's immense and comprehensive historical work in ten volumes. I have read them and some of his other writings also with great profit. He just observed that the educated minority in our country had a great task to perform in improving the conditions of the common people. Those in positions of power and privilege should do their utmost in a spirit of dedication to speed up economic progress. In an age which is obsessed by a superstitious reverence for science and technology, an age which has lost the sense of the spirit in man and in the world, religion is the hope for the new world. We suffer from what the Greeks call *hubris*; to overcome it we must develop its opposite, humility. Self-centredness is self-destruction. The challenge of chaos can be met only by a spiritual renewal. 'You must be born again.' All the

* Address as Chancellor admitting Professor Arnold Toynbee and Doctor Wilder Penfield to Honorary Degrees of the University.

splendours of science and technology can produce only a mickey mouse but not make men, nor do they make other machines except through the intelligence and will of man.

As Dr Penfield suggests, science has not understood the mystery of life or solved the riddle of human relationships. History shows that so long as we are enlightened by the vision of spiritual values there is progress; when the vision grows dim, progress falters.

At a time when the world is distracted with anxiety and most men are feeling helpless before the march of events, Professor Toynbee stresses the important role of the human individual in the shaping of history. Man is not like the things he handles. He has the spark of spirit, he is made in the image of God. The indeterminacy of human nature makes for contingency in human affairs. There is nothing inevitable in human history. Neither progress nor decline is the law of life. The future lies open before us. We can let mankind destroy itself or weld it into a single family. We can give to our future glory or gloom. If we are to co-operate with the will of the universe, we must give up the ego-centric illusions of modern sovereign nations, give up parochial conceptions of society, and develop loyalty to the world community. After all there is only one race and that is humanity.

Here, again, Professor Toynbee has urged that we should not cling to the attitude of religious

exclusivism, that we have the unique, final, unrepeatable, exclusive, incomparable truth. Such a view is bound to engender contempt for other religions and their followers. He has been contending against a narrow sectarian view of religion and emphasizing that the varieties of religious traditions serve to bring men into touch with ultimate metaphysical reality. Higher religions are not competitive but complementary. Each of them can lift up the human heart to a higher world and incline human nature to the practice of love and the renunciation of hatred.

The need for religion, the freedom of the human spirit to shape its future and the fellowship of faiths are a part of our tradition and Professor Toynbee's writings emphasize these. We welcome him cordially to our academic community.

Whatever forms religion may assume, whatever languages it may speak, whatever beliefs it may hold, its one authentic voice is that of compassion for suffering humanity.

God is *vaidya-nātha,* the lord of physicians. We have in Dr Wilder Penfield a great living example of one whose life is dedicated to the diminution of the pain of others. His magnificent work in neurology and brain surgery, the many ways in which he has enlarged the means of human happiness, and the great respect in which he is held are well known.

We have had dramatic advances in medical science and surgery in the last fifty years. During

that period, expectation of life has increased by more than twenty years. The discovery of new drugs, of the sulpha group and anti-biotics and new methods of treatment, e.g. X-Ray, radium and its derivatives have played an important part. The future holds prospects of great and far-reaching changes. The rapid development of nuclear physics, for example, is opening up new diagnostic and therapeutic measures of great importance. Work of research in the conquest of disease will, I am afraid, have to continue perhaps till the end of time. What cannot be wholly attained need not be wholly abandoned.

We, in India, during all these years have only been beneficiaries and not contributors to the increase of medical knowledge and skill. Now that facilities for higher studies and research are expanding, I hope that our medical men will regard it as their function not only to spread medical knowledge but also to increase it. *Pravacana* and *svādhyāya* are the two functions of every teacher.

There is increasing specialization in this field as in others but the specialist should not become an expert technician. Dr Penfield's varied interests from football to fiction make him not only the great brain surgeon of the world but also a sensitive and charming personality, austere without being pharisaic. Though born an American, he is today hailed as 'the greatest living Canadian'. The services he has rendered in different parts of the



After receiving an Honorary Degree of the Charles University of Prague, 7 June, 1956



Arrival in Djakarta,
Indonesia, 26 September, 1956



With the Emperor and Empress of Japan



Conferment of an Honorary Degree of the Delhi University on the Hon. Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the U.S.A., 31 August, 1956

Opening of the Gandhi Memorial Academy, Nairobi, 12 July, 1956



world and the honours he has received from different universities and learned bodies make him out to be a great citizen of the world. Students as well as patients go to him from all over the world. His visit to us at a time when we are attempting to clean up our country of sickness, squalor and superstition is of immense benefit. May the world continue to have for many years the strength of his wisdom and the guidance of his genius.

Our new graduates in different ways have illuminated anew the great adventure of life and we rejoice to welcome them.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

BUDDHA AND HIS MESSAGE*

I

SIXTH CENTURY B.C. was remarkable for the spiritual unrest and intellectual ferment in many countries. In China we had Lao Tzu and Confucius, in Greece Parmenides and Empedocles, in Iran Zarathustra, in Israel the Prophets, in India Mahāvīra and the Buddha. In that period many remarkable teachers worked upon their inheritance and developed new points of view.

The Pūrṇimā or full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha is connected with three important events in the life of the Buddha—birth, enlightenment and parinirvāṇa. It is the most sacred day in the Buddhist calendar. According to Theravāda Buddhism, the Buddha's parinirvāṇa occurred in 544 B.C.[1] Though the other schools of Buddhism have their independent systems of chronology, they have agreed to consider the full-moon day of May 1956 to be the 2500th anniversary of the māhaparinirvāṇa of Gautama the Buddha.

The main events of the Buddha's life are well known. He was the son of a minor ruler of Kapilavastu, grew up in luxury, married Yaśodharā, had

* Broadcast on All India Radio, Delhi, 19 May, 1956

[1] The Bodh Gaya inscription gives 544 B.C. as the date of parinirvāṇa.

a son, Rāhula, and led a sheltered life where the world's miseries were hidden. On four occasions when he went out of his palace, so the legend tells us, he met an old man and felt that he was subject to the frailties of age; met a sick man and felt that he was liable to sickness; met a corpse and felt that he was also subject to death; and met an ascetic with a peaceful countenance who had adopted the traditional way of the seekers of religious truth. The Buddha resolved to gain freedom from old age, sickness and death by following his example. The mendicant tells the Buddha :

nara-puṅgava janma-mṛtyu bhītaḥ śramaṇaḥ pravrajito'smi mokṣa-hetoḥ.[2]

I am a śramaṇa, an ascetic, who in fear of birth and death have left home-life to gain liberation.

The sight of the holy man, healthy in body, cheerful in mind, without any of the comforts of life, impressed the Buddha strongly with the conviction that the pursuit of religion was the only goal worthy of man. It makes man independent of the temporary trials and fleeting pleasures of the world. The Buddha decided to renounce the world and devote himself to a religious life. He left his home, wife and child, put on the garb and habits of a mendicant, and fled into the forest in order to meditate on human suffering, its causes and the means by which it could be overcome. He spent six years in the study of the most abstruse doctrines

[2] Aśvaghoṣa : *Buddhacarita*, V, 17

of religion, suffered the severest austerities, reduced himself to the verge of starvation in the hope that, by mortifying the flesh, he would surely attain to the knowledge of truth. But he came very near death without having attained the wisdom that he sought. He gave up ascetic practices, resumed normal life, refreshed himself in the waters of the river Nairañjanā, accepted the milk pudding offered by Sujātā: *nāyam ātmā balahīnena labhyaḥ*. After he gained bodily health and mental vigour he spent seven weeks under the shade of the Bodhi tree, sitting in a state of the deepest and most profound meditation. One night towards the dawn his understanding opened and he attained enlightenment. After the enlightenment the Buddha refers to himself in the third person as the Tathāgata: he who has arrived at the truth. He wished to preach the knowledge he gained and so said: 'I shall go to Banaras where I will light the lamp that will bring light unto the world. I will go to Banaras and beat the drums that will awaken mankind. I shall go to Banaras and there I shall teach the Law.' 'Give ear, O mendicants! The Deathless (*amṛta*, eternal life) has been found by me. I will now instruct. I will preach the Dharma.' He travelled from place to place, touched the lives of hundreds, high and low, princes and peasants. They all came under the spell of his great personality. He taught for forty-five years the beauty of charity and the joy of renunciation, the need for simplicity and equality.

At the age of eighty he was on his way to Kuśinagara, the town in which he passed into parinirvāṇa. Taking leave of the pleasant city of Vaiśālī with his favourite disciple Ānanda, he rested on one of the neighbouring hills and looking at the pleasant scenery with its many shrines and sanctuaries, he said to Ānanda; *citram jambūdvīpam, manoramam jīvitam manuṣyāṇām.* 'Colourful and rich is India, lovable and charming is the life of men.' On the banks of the river Hiraṇyavatī in a grove of sāla trees, the Buddha had a bed prepared for himself between two trees. He gently consoled his disciple, Ānanda, who was lamenting bitterly. 'Do not weep, do not despair, Ānanda. From all that he loves man must part. How could it be that what is born, what is subject to instability, should not pass ? Maybe, you were thinking, "we have no longer a master". That must not be, O Ānanda. The doctrine I have preached to you is your master.' He repeated :

> *handa dāni bhikhave āmantayāmi vo*
> *vayadhammā sankhārā, appamādena sampādetha'ti.*
> Verily, I say unto you now, O monks : All things are perishable ; work out your deliverance with earnestness.

These were his last words. His spirit sank into the depths of mystic absorption and when he had attained to that degree where all thought, all conception disappears, when the consciousness of individuality ceases, he entered into the supreme nirvāṇa.

II

In the life of the Buddha, there are two sides, individual and social. The familiar Buddha-image is of a meditating sage, yogin, absorbed and withdrawn, lost in the joy of his inner meditation. This is the tradition associated with Theravāda Buddhism and Aśoka's missions. For these the Buddha is a man, not God, a teacher and not a saviour. There is the other side of the Buddha's life, when he is concerned with the sorrows of men, eager to enter their lives, heal their troubles and spread his message for the good of the many: *bahu-jana-sukhāya bahu-jana-hitāya*. Based on this compassion for humanity, a second tradition matured in North India under the Kuṣāṇas (70-480 A.D.) and the Guptas (320-650 A.D.). It developed the ideal of salvation for all, the discipline of devotion and the way of universal service. While the former tradition prevails in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand, the latter is found in Nepal, Tibet, Korea, China and Japan.

All forms of Buddhism, however, agree that the Buddha was the founder, that he strove and attained transcendental wisdom as he sat under the Bodhi tree, that he pointed a way from the world of suffering to a beyond, the undying, and those who follow the path for liberation may also cross to the wisdom beyond. This is the root of the matter, the essential unity underlying the many differences in

outlook and expression that came to characterize Buddhism as it spread from India to other parts of the world.

The essence of all religion is a change in man's nature. The conception of second birth, *dvitīyam janma*, is the central teaching of the Hindu and the Buddhist religions. Man is not one but a multiplicity. He is asleep, he is an automaton. He is inwardly discordant. He must wake up, become united, harmonious within himself and free. The Greek mysteries implied this change in our nature. Man himself is conceived as a grain which could die as a grain but be reborn as a plant different from the grain. A bushel of wheat has two possible destinies, to be pounded and made into flour and become bread; or to be sown in the ground, to germinate and become a plant, and give a hundred grains for one that is sown. St. Paul borrowed this idea in describing the Resurrection when he says: 'Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die.' 'It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body.' The change is a transformation of the substance itself. Man is not a complete, final being. He is a being who can transform himself, who can be born again. To effect this change, to be reborn, to be awakened is the goal of all religions as of Buddhism.

Our subjection to time, to *saṃsāra*, is due to *avidyā*, unawareness, leading to infatuation, depravity, *āsava*. Ignorance and craving are the substra-

tum of the empirical life. From *avidyā* we must rise to *vidyā*, *bodhi*, enlightenment. When we have *vipassanā*, knowledge by seeing, clear perception, we will acquire *samatā*, unshakable calm. In all this, the Buddha adopts the Vedic criterion of certainty which is rooted in actual knowledge which is attained by immediate experience, direct intellectual intuition of reality: *yathā-bhūta-ñāna-dassana*.

III

The Buddha did not feel that he was announcing a new religion. He was born, grew up, and died a Hindu. He was re-stating with a new emphasis the ancient ideals of the Indo-Aryan civilization. 'Even so have I, monks, seen an ancient way, an ancient road followed by the wholly awakened ones of olden times....Along that have I gone, and the matters that I have come to know fully as I was going along it, I have told to the monks, nuns, men and women lay-followers, even monks, this Brahma-faring, *brahmacariya* that is prosperous and flourishing, widespread and widely known, become popular—in short, well made manifest for gods and men.'[3]

The quest of religious India has been for the incomparable safety, fearlessness, *abhaya*, *mokṣa*, *nirvāṇa*. It is natural for man to strive to elevate

[3] *Saṁyutta Nikāya*

himself above earthly things, to go out from the world of sense, to free his soul from the trammels of existence and gross materiality, to break through the outer darkness into the world of light and spirit. The Buddha aims at a new spiritual existence attained through *jñāna* or *bodhi*, absolute illumination. 'But I deem the highest goal of a man to be the stage in which there is neither old age, nor fear, nor disease, nor birth, nor death, nor anxieties and in which there is no continuous renewal of activity.'

pade tu yasmin na jarā na bhīr na ruṅ na janma
naivoparamo na cādhayaḥ
tam eva manye puruṣārtham uttamam na vidyate
yatra punaḥ punaḥ kriyā.[4]

The Buddha aimed at a spiritual experience in which all selfish craving is extinct and with it every fear and passion. It is a state of perfect inward peace, accompanied by the conviction of having attained spiritual freedom, a state which words cannot describe. Only he who has experienced it knows what it is. The state is not life in paradise where the gods dwell. 'You should feel shame and indignation, if ascetics of other schools ask you if it is in order to arise in a divine world that ascetic life is practised under the ascetic Gautama.' Even as the Upaniṣads distinguish *mokṣa* from life in *brahmaloka*, the Buddha points out that the gods belong to the world of manifestation and cannot therefore be called absolutely unconditioned.

[4] Aśvaghoṣa: *Buddhacarita*, XI, 59

Existence has its correlative non-existence. The really unconditioned is beyond both existence and non-existence. The state of the *mukta*, the Buddha, is higher than that of Brahmā. It is invisible, resplendent and eternal. There is a higher than the gods, a transcendental Absolute described in the *Udāna* as *ajāta*, unborn, *abhūta*, unbecome, *akata*, unmade, *asankhata*, uncompounded. This is the Brahman of the Upaniṣads which is characterized as *na iti, na iti*.[5] The Buddha calls himself *brahma-bhūta*, he who has become Brahman. The Buddha adopted an absolutist view of Ultimate Reality though not a theistic one. He felt that many abstained from action in the faith that God would do everything for them. They seemed to forget that spiritual realization is a growth from within. When the educated indulged in vain speculations about the Inexpressible, the uneducated treated God as a being who could be manipulated by magic rites or sorcery. If God forgives us anyway, it makes little difference how we live. The Buddha revolted against the ignorance and superstition, the dread and the horror, which accompanied popular religion. Besides, theistic views generally fill men's minds with dogmatism and their hearts with intolerance. Doctrinal orthodoxy has filled

[5] Cf. also: 'From which the words turn back together with the mind, not having attained.' *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, 11, 4. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* it is said: 'Before the gods sprang into existence, I was.' 11, 8, 8,

the world with unhappiness, injustice, strife, crime, and hatred.

The conception of the world as *saṃsāra*, a stream without end, where the law of karma functions, is common to all Indian systems, Hindu, Jain, Buddhist and Sikh. Nothing is permanent, not even the gods. Even death is not permanent, for it must turn to new life. The conduct of the individual in one life cannot determine his everlasting destiny. The Buddha does not accept a fatalistic view. He does not say that man has no control over his future. He can work out his future, become an *arhat*, attain nirvāṇa. The Buddha was an ardent exponent of the strenuous life. Our aim is to conquer time, overcome *saṃsāra* and the way to it is the moral path which results in illumination.

The Buddha did not concede the reality of an unchangeable self, for the self is something that can be built up by good thoughts and deeds, but yet he has to assume it. While karma relates to the world of objects, of existence, in time, nirvāṇa assumes the freedom of the subject, of inwardness. We can stand out of our existential limits. We experience the nothingness, the void of the world to get beyond it. To stand out of objective existence there must come upon the individual a sense of crucifixion, a sense of agonizing annihilation, a sense of the bitter nothingness of all the empirical existence which is subject to the law of change, of death: *maraṇāntam hi jīvitam*. We cry from the

depths of unyielding despair: *mṛtyor mā amṛtam gamaya*. Who shall save me from the body of this death ? If death is not all, if nothingness is not all, there is something which survives death, though it cannot be described. The 'I' is the unconditioned, something which has nothing to do with the body, feeling, perception, formations, thought, which are all impermanent, changeable, non-substantial. When the individual knows that what is impermanent is painful, he becomes detached from them and becomes free. The indispensable prerequisite of this is a higher consciousness of an 'I' or something like it: *attena vā attanīyena*.[6] This 'I' is the primordial essential self, the unconditioned, whose realization gives us liberty and power. The self is not body, feeling, consciousness, etc. But from this it does not follow that there is no self at all. The ego is not the only content of the self, though it is the only content that can be known objectively. There is another side to our self which helps us to attain nirvāṇa. The two selves are contrasted when the one is said to reproach the other; *attāpi attānam upavadati*. When the Buddha asks us to be diligent, to strive for salvation, he is referring to the inward principle which is not swept away by the current of events, which is not controlled by outward circumstances, which protects itself from the usurpations of society, which does not submit to human opinion but jealously guards its

[6] *Majjhima Nikāya*, XXIX

rights. The enlightened is free, having broken all bonds. The ascetic is one who has gained mastery over himself, 'who has his heart in his power, and is not himself in the power of his heart'.[7] The Buddha when he attained nirvāṇa is far from being dissolved into non-being. It is not he that becomes extinct but the passions and desires. He is no longer conditioned by the erroneous notions and selfish desires that normally go on shaping individuals. The Buddha realizes himself to be free from the characteristics that constitute an individual subject. He has vanished from the sphere of dualities. 'Whatever thought he does not desire, that thought will he not think.'[8]

The Buddha taught us to pursue *prajñā* and practise compassion, *karuṇā*. We will be judged not by the creeds we profess or the labels we wear or the slogans we shout but by our sacrificial work and brotherly outlook.[9] Man, weak as he is, subject to old age, sickness and death, in his ignorance and pride condemns the sick, the aged and the dead. If anyone looks with disgust on any fellow-being who is sick or old or dead, he would be unjust to himself. We must not find fault with the man who limps or stumbles along the road, for we do not know the shoes he wears or the burdens he bears. If we

[7] *Majjhima Nikāya*, XXXII
[8] *Aṅguttara*, IV, 35; *Majjhima*, XX
[9] Cf. *rudrākṣam tulasī-kāṣṭham, tripuṇḍram bhasma-dhāraṇam*
yātrāḥ snānāni homāś ca, japā vā devadarśanam
na ete punanti manujam yathā bhūta-hite-ratiḥ.

learn what pain is, we become the brothers of all who suffer.

IV

Buddhism did not start as a new and independent religion. It was an offshoot of the more ancient faith of the Hindus, perhaps a schism or a heresy. While the Buddha agreed with the faith he inherited on the fundamentals of metaphysics and ethics, he protested against certain practices which were in vogue at the time. He refused to acquiesce in the Vedic ceremonialism. When he was asked to perform some of these rites, he said: 'And as for your saying that for the sake of Dharma I should carry out the sacrificial ceremonies which are customary in my family and which bring the desired fruit, I do not approve of sacrifices for I do not care for happiness which is sought at the price of others' suffering.'[10]

It is true that the Upaniṣads also subordinate the sacrificial piety to the spiritual religion which they formulate, but they did not attack it in the way in which the Buddha did. The Buddha's main object was to bring about a reformation in the religious practices and a return to the basic principles. All those who adhere to the essential

[10] *Buddhacarita*, XI, 64
yadāttha cāpiṣṭaphalām kulocitām kuruṣva dharmāya
makhakriyām iti
namo makhebhyo na hi kāmaye sukham parasya
duhkha-kriyayā yad iṣyate.

framework of the Hindu religion and attempt to bring it into conformity with the voice of awakened conscience are treated as *avatāras*. It is an accepted view of the Hindus that the Supreme as Viṣṇu assumed different forms to accomplish different purposes for the good of mankind. The Buddha was accepted as an *avatāra* who reclaimed Hindus from sanguinary rites and erroneous practices and purified their religion of the numerous abuses which had crept into it. This *avatāra* doctrine helps us to retain the faith of the ancestors while effecting reforms in it. Our Purāṇas describe the Buddha as the ninth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

In Jayadeva's *aṣṭapadi* (of the *Gītagovinda*) he refers to the different *avatāras* and mentions the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, and gives the following account:

> O you of merciful heart denounced the Veda where the slaughter of cattle is taught. O Keśava, you, in the form of the Buddha, victory to you, Hari, lord of the world.

nindasi yajñavidher ahaha śrutijātam
sadaya-hṛdaya, darśita paśughātam
keśava-dhṛta buddhaśarīra jaya jagadīśa hare.[11]

The commentator writes:

yajñasya-vidhāna-bodhakam veda-samūham
nindasi, na tu sarvam ity arthaḥ

The Buddha does not condemn the whole Śruti but only that part of it which enjoins sacrifices.

[11] 1, 9

Jayadeva sums up the ten *avatāras* in the next verse:

> Who upheld the Vedas, supported the universe, bore up the world, destroyed the demons, deceived Bali, broke the force of the Kṣatriyas, conquered Rāvaṇa, made the plough, spread mercy, prevailed over aliens, homage, O Kṛṣṇa who took the ten forms.

vedān uddharate, jagan nivahate, bhūgolam udbibhrate,
daityān dārayate, balim chalayate, kṣatrakṣayam kurvate,
paulastyam jayate, halam kalayate, kāruṇyam ātanvate,
mlecchān mūrcchayate daśākṛtikṛte kṛṣṇāya tubhyam namaḥ

The commentator writes:

kāruṇyam kṛpām ātanvate buddha-rūpeṇa vistārayate.

The Buddha utilized the Hindu inheritance to correct some of its expressions. He came to fulfil, not to destroy. For us, in this country, the Buddha is an outstanding representative of our religious tradition. He left his footprints on the soil of India and his mark on the soul of the country with its habits and convictions. While the teaching of the Buddha assumed distinctive forms in the other countries of the world in conformity with their own traditions, here, in the home of the Buddha, it has entered into and become an integral part of our culture. The Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas were treated alike by the Buddha and the two

traditions gradually blended. In a sense the Buddha is a maker of modern Hinduism.

Occasionally humanity after an infinite number of gropings, creates itself, realizes the purposes of its existence in one great character and then again loses itself in the all too slow process of dissolution. Some of the practices associated with Buddhism are not quite consistent with the spirit of the Buddha. The Buddha aimed at the development of a new type of free man, free from prejudices, intent on working out his own future, with one's self as one's light, *attadīpa*.[12] His humanism crossed racial and national barriers. Yet the chaotic condition of world affairs reflects the chaos in men's souls. History has become universal in spirit. Its subject matter is neither Europe nor Asia, neither East nor West, but humanity in all lands and ages. In spite of political divisions, the world is one, whether we like it or not. The fortunes of everyone are linked up with those of others. But we are suffering from an exhaustion of spirit, an increase of egoism, individual and collective, which seem to make the ideal of a world society too difficult to desire. The enemy we have to fight is within ourselves. It is no use railing against God or Destiny, for we bring disgrace on ourselves. What we need today is a spiritual view of the universe for which this country, in spite of all its blunders and follies, has stood, which may blow through life again, bursting

[12] *dīpa* is sometimes taken as *dvīpa*, island.

the doors and flinging open the shutters of man's life. We must recover the lost ideal of spiritual freedom: *ātmalābhān na paraṁ vidyate*. If we wish to achieve peace we must maintain that inner harmony, that poise of the soul, which are the essential elements of peace. We must possess ourselves though all else be lost. The free spirit sets no bounds to its love, recognizes in all human beings a spark of the Divine, and offers itself up a willing victim to the cause of mankind. It casts off all fear except that of wrong-doing, passes the bounds of time and death and finds inexhaustible power in life eternal.

BUDDHA MEMORIAL IN DELHI*

23 May, 1956

IT IS MY GREAT PRIVILEGE as the Chairman of the Working Committee to request you, Mr Prime Minister, to lay the foundation stone for the memorial which we propose to raise to mark the 2500th anniversary of Gautama the Buddha's parinirvāṇa. It is a matter of great pride to recall that the Master whose teachings have influenced a large part of the world belonged to this country, was trained in its religious background and gave consistent utterance to its deepest aspirations. Even today his teaching has an appeal to open minds and unprejudiced hearts.

The mark of a great genius is his astonishing universality. The more we think of him the more we feel that he is the contemporary of every generation.

Rationalism

The Buddha helps us to adopt a middle course between the two extremes of superstition which has answers to everything, and scepticism which has answers to nothing. The influence of science is powerful and pervasive and it is unfavourable to

* Speech at the laying of the foundation stone of the Buddha Memorial in Delhi, 23 May, 1956

much that passes for religion; we are not prepared to accept unquestioningly any traditional faith. The Buddha does not wish us to accept statements on authority, to be satisfied with second-hand evidence, to believe in miracles and marvels which cannot be empirically repeated. Religion cannot afford to claim exemption from enquiry and if it does so on the ground of its sanctity it will draw upon itself the suspicion that it is afraid to face the light. The Buddha does not want us to adopt theories which cannot be verified by empirical observation:

parīkṣya bhikṣavo grāhyam mad vaco na tu gauravāt.

You must accept my words after examining them and not merely out of regard for me.

The Buddha refused to accept views on the authority of others:

parasya vākyair na mamātra niścayaḥ.

He resisted every form of tyranny over the mind of man. He insisted on clean and clear thinking, on what one may call the morality of thought. He tells his disciples to 'speak only of that on which you yourselves have meditated, which you yourselves have known, which you yourselves have understood.'[1] The Buddha tells Ānanda that he has no such thing as a closed fist, *baddhamuṣṭi*. The system of metaphysics and ethics which the Buddha teaches relies very little on the supernatural. He does not appeal to the irrational, sentimental, emotional sides of our nature.

[1] *Majjhima Nikāya*, XXXVIII

Empiricism

The other characteristic of our age is its profound empiricism. Experience is not limited to the perception of facts in the visible world of space and time. Indian religions ask us to take our stand on experience. The ṛṣis are the seers, *sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ*. Religion is essentially a transforming experience, an illumined life. It is essentially a reborn ness. A Sufi mystic says: 'He who is born from the womb sees only this world; only he who is born out of himself sees the other world.' The four Aryan truths, *catvāri ārya satyāni* are the results of the Buddha's personal experience. He expounds the truth as he has discovered it. He does not impose his ideas on others. He says: 'I will not force you as a potter his raw clay.'[2] The Buddha asks us to test and see for ourselves.

Freedom from Dogmatism

In the spirit of this country, he pointed out that the highest spiritual freedom is incapable of doctrinal formulation. The end remains untold.[3] It has no sign. It is a gnosis that cannot be adequately communicated. The Buddha has no opinions, for he has seen. His declarations come fresh and breathless, hot and glistening from the baptism of inner experience. He has a great shyness, a profound reticence. An experience is not a theory.

[2] *Majjhima Nikāya*, CXX, II
[3] *Sutta Nipāta*, 10. 74

He rejects the contending formulas of the intellect as inadequate either to lead to or express the paradoxical truth. The inward spirit of truth challenges all forms. Language makes reality more articulate than it is. Language is at best an instrument and like all instruments subject to imperfection. The doctrines are rebuked, defeated and swallowed up again in experience. We must see before we say. The Buddha condemns the tendency to dogmatize as a bond and condemns those who proclaim: 'Only this is truth; foolishness is the rest.'[4] He discouraged intellectual discussions, theological controversies about ultimate problems. He looked upon those who affirmed their doctrines to be final as guilty of intellectual pride. The Buddha has great respect for other people. In the world in which he grew up he respected the various divinities and the popular cults associated with them. Any religion which induces intolerance, pride, or a sense of superiority lacks authenticity. The true God is the God of all men. He is larger than our views of him.

From ancient times in India, all religions have formed a brotherhood. Their leaders and disciples communicated with one another, held conferences and contributed their share to the profound and steady movement of mankind towards a higher life. The so-called secularism of India is an acknowledgment of this truth, that spiritual life,

[4] *Sutta Nipāta.* IV, 12; XIII, 17-19

jñāna or wisdom, *bodhi* or enlightenment is not one particular religion opposed to others. It is not materialism or irreligion. It does not mean that we believe in good roads and railways or radio sets and motor cars. It means that we do not believe in a religion which requires us to hate other religions or feel superior to them.

Moral Life: Social Justice

In morals, the Buddha avoided the two extremes of the pursuit of worldly desires and severe ascetic discipline culminating in the annihilation of the body. While his faith is rooted in inward experience, it demands expression in action which makes for social justice, equal rights for all races and creeds. The dignity of the individual person demands the abolition of all restrictions which injure human dignity and fracture human community. The Buddha protested against all those who protected social injustice in the name of social justice. The Buddha makes respectful references to the Brāhmaṇas who are observant of their vows and contrasts them with the jāti Brāhmaṇas, Brahmins only by birth. He classes the worthy śramaṇas with the good Brāhmaṇas.[5] The religious life was open to all men. We have yet to realize our duties to the injured and the insulted.

Buddhism does not place obstacles in the way of human progress by its rigidity in thought or

[5] See the last chapter of the *Dhammapada*.

legalism in morality. It encourages the development of human thought, human virtue and human beauty.

World Peace

In our troubled world, the message of the Buddha gives us a voice of hope. He tells us that peace cannot be secured by methods of war. 'Victory breeds hatred, the conquered live in sorrow.'[6] War leads to a vicious circle of hatred, oppression, subversive movements, false propaganda, re-armament and new wars. Hatred cannot be conquered by hatred. It can be conquered by love. Men must cease to be warlike, and become non-violent. We require another manifestation of the spirit of love to break through the encircling gloom, and bring about a new alignment of man's relation to man, of race to race, of nation to nation.

Pañchaśīla

The Buddhist Pañchaśīla prohibits killing under any circumstances; since we cannot give life we should not take life. It insists on respecting other people's property, detests the life of unchastity and of falsehood and forbids the use of intoxicants. Its adoption will lead to a change in man's outlook.

The progress of Buddhism has been helped by men who did not belong officially to the Buddhist faith. Many of the Buddhist monuments,

[6] *Dhammapada*, XV, 5

monasteries and centres of learning were built by non-Buddhists. We have believed for over forty centuries, in spite of material dangers, that what is sacred to any people is sacred to all. Our Prime Minister has been pleading for civilized, co-operative co-existence of the nations of the world as against the aggressive, armed co-existence. He today voices the spirit of reason and the ethics of compassion in national and international affairs. He stands for a robust rationalism, ethical idealism, social and racial equality and world peace. I have therefore great pleasure in inviting him, on behalf of the Working Committee and the people of our country, to lay the foundation stone of this twentieth century memorial to the great Buddha.

BUDDHA JAYANTI*

TODAY, the Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā completes 2500 years of the Buddhist era. It marks the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa. When we meet today, it should be our endeavour to recall the great teachings of the Master and resolve to practise them to the best of our ability. This country has been the home of many great teachers of humanity. It is great not only because great people lived in it long ago but also because great people continue to live in it. Mahatma Gandhi and others unknown to name and fame have been holding up the torch of India's ideals. In the *Mahābhārata* Yudhiṣṭhira tells Vidura:

bhavad vidhāh bhāgavatāh tīrtha-bhūtāḥ svayam prabhoḥ
tīrthīkurvanti tīrthāṇi svāntasthena gadābhṛtā.

Of course, places become sacred not because once upon a time there lived great spirits but because even now we are striving to shape our lives on the patterns we have before us.

The very name Buddha makes out that the mark of religion is an awakening. The Buddha is the awakened one. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the word used for knowing is *pratibuddha*. The mother of the Buddha is Māyā Devī and her father's name is

* Address at the public meeting to celebrate Buddha Jayanti in Delhi, 24 May, 1956

Su-prabuddha. The *Bhagavadgītā* tells us: 'What is night for all beings is the time of waking for the disciplined soul; and what is the time of waking for all beings is night for the sage who sees (or the sage of vision).'

yā niśā sarvabhūtānām tasyām jāgarti saṁyamī
yasyām jāgrati bhūtāni sā niśā paśyato muneḥ.[1]

It is said of Jesus Christ that he was 'the first fruits of them that slept'.

ajñāna-timirāndhasya jñānāñjana śalākayā
cakṣur unmīlitam yena tasmai śrī gurave namaḥ.

'I bow to the divine teacher, who opens the eyes of one who is blinded by the disease of ignorance by means of the principle (the collyrium) of knowledge.' The very name 'guru' means the remover of ignorance; *gu* is *andhakāra* or darkness; *ru* is the remover of darkness. The remover of darkness is 'guru'. Religion gives light to those that sit in darkness and makes the darkness comprehend the light that is shining in it.

Awakening or enlightenment, *bodhi* or *jñāna* is the achievement of clarity of vision which expels all illusion. It is an inward renewal, a rebirth of the creative power in the heart. The world of spirit is not a poetic phrase but a strange kind of fact which we cannot ignore. The Supreme is not so much an inferred theory as an intuited fact apprehended by the total being of man. It is not the satisfaction of any particular side of our nature, cognitive, emo-

[1] 11, 69

tional, or volitional, but is the fulfilment of one's whole being. It is participation in the mystery of being.

Enlightenment is not something given but a task. Man is the architect of his own future. Man has to mould himself. He must re-group his inward resources, tidy up his mind which is generally dispersed. The path of wisdom is not reached in an easy way. We must reach it in solitude and labour night and day. The *Dhammapada* says: 'The Buddhas do but tell the way; it is for each one of us to swelter at the task.'

The way to the attainment of this goal is through the eight-fold moral path. The first step is right views. The Buddha insists on clean and clear thinking, on what we may call the morality of thought. *Dāna, dama* and *dayā* of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* are embodied in the eight-fold path. It is the cleansing of the heart that is called for. The Buddha insists on a clean heart, the right frame of mind. He demands the observance of religion, not religiosity. 'Monkery is not piety,' says Erasmus. Mātṛceta makes the Buddha say:

> What harm has your hair done ? Shave off your sins.
> What earthly good is a monk's robe to a mind besmirched ?
> *keśāḥ kim aparādhyanti kleśānām muṇḍanam kuru*
> *sa kaṣāyasya cittasya kāṣāyaiḥ kim prayojanam.*

We must rid ourselves of the anxious craving, of fiery, self-devouring desire. We must become changed men before society can be changed.

The Buddha gave his message against a background of religious practice which he sought not so

much to repudiate as to purify. The state of our society today requires purification. The system of caste and untouchability which we still tolerate and the absurd rites which still prevail in rural areas require to be removed. At a time like the present when we are engaged in re-building our country, we have to guard ourselves against temptations. The greed for power is as injurious as the gambling instinct or love for money. The more we have, the more we want. The country needs today men who adopt as a principle the simple, austere life and rage to suffer for the community. Small considerations of family and caste, religion and community require to be set aside.

The Buddhist Pañchaśīla calls upon us to change our nature. It prohibits killing under any circumstances; since we cannot give life, we should not take life. It insists on respecting other people's property, detests the life of unchastity and of falsehood and forbids the use of intoxicants. Its adoption will lead to a change in man's outlook. This spiritual perception should be brought into the space-time world and penetrate it. All nature will then become ablaze with the inward light. It will give us an essential serenity which we retain in the depths of our soul, even when we live in the midst of storms, *śāntākāram bhujagaśayanam.*

When transferred to the international plane, it becomes a code of international morality requiring us to practise non-aggression, non-interference, peaceful, co-operative, educative co-existence.

We must strive to bind up the wounds of the suffering world, build an abiding peace, a peace rooted in justice. For this we should be transformed, and develop love whose presence reconciles all enmities, melts all hatreds and kindles to active life all powers that seem to resist it.

The Buddha taught us to be ready to oppose injustice with courage, break down the barriers of caste and race which disfigure the human community. He fed the hungry, nursed the sick, consorted with criminals and outcasts, lifted up the downtrodden and the condemned and demanded by his teaching and example that we love even our enemies. If these meetings help us to remember his full life, celebrate his sure vision, worship his large heart which ministered to the needs of the lowly and the lost, we shall ourselves be touched a little by the Buddha's greatness.

It is my great pleasure to request the President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, to preside over this public meeting convened to mark the 2500th anniversary of Gautama the Buddha's parinirvāṇa. Dr Rajendra Prasad comes from a part of our country which is rich in deep and moving memories of the Buddha's life. In him we have one who has been greatly influenced by the different religious traditions which have found a home in our country. It is most appropriate that such an ardent lover of the deep things of spirit should take the Chair today.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS, TOKYO

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

3 October, 1956

I AM GREATLY HONOURED by your generous words of welcome and appreciative references to my humble work in promoting fellowship among the faiths of the world.

We should like our generation to go down in history not as the one which split the atom or made the hydrogen bomb but as the one which brought together the peoples of the world and transformed them into a world community. Now that the nations have come to each other's door-steps, we have to develop new methods of human relationships. If civilization is to endure, understanding among peoples is essential. The world has got together as a body; it is groping for its soul. We need psychological unity, spiritual coherence. We are eager to promote peace and concord among men through several international agencies. The UNO, ILO, UNESCO, WHO are some of them. If we can have a United Nations Organization, cannot we have a United Religions Organization ? Unfortunately, while all religions proclaim faith in righteous living, international peace and the brotherhood of men, they are unwilling to co-operate with one

another. They compete with one another and keep their followers apart. The world has shrunk and different religions are facing one another. To get them into a fellowship is an imperative necessity. Though we may have our special loyalties, we may appreciate whatever is true, noble, lovely, and of good report. We do not propose an eclectic religion. We do not encourage the merging together of different faiths into a vague synthetic creed. We wish to bring the followers of different faiths together, promote goodwill and understanding among them, help them to see that each faith in its own way is attempting to transform the animal man into the Godman. The ascent of man from the animal to the human, from the human to the spiritual, from unrest to serenity, from darkness into radiance, is the aim of religion.

Eastern religions, Hinduism, Buddhism and others influenced by them have been looking upon different religions not as rivals but as friendly partners in nourishing the spiritual life of mankind. Their approach to religion has been essentially empirical. Religion is an experience. The Hindu Scriptures, the Vedas, register the experiences of seers who grappled with the fundamental reality. Their claim to acceptance does not rest on the logical validity of a set of propositions about God or the historical validity of their reports about his activities. Such statements may be shaken by scientific or historical discoveries. The claim of the

Vedas rests on spiritual experience which is the birthright of every man. This experience may be gained by anyone who undergoes a certain discipline and puts forth an effort. From the time of the Ṛg Veda down till today the Hindus adopted an attitude of respect for other faiths. Though India suffered as a result of her tolerance, she never abandoned her attitude of respect for other religions and regarded them as varied expressions of the religious spirit, as symbolic representations, naturally conditioned by time, place and the limitations of the human mind. The idea of fellowship of faiths is not uncongenial to the Hindu mind. The Buddha adopted a similar attitude. He called upon his followers to avoid doctrinal controversies. In his time endless disputes over theoretical inferences from undemonstrable premises confused, distracted and exasperated the seekers of truth. He wished them to look at the world and find out its character. We see the essential perishableness of things, the evanescence of nature and the consequent sorrow and suffering. The realization of the temporality of the world is the first step in the awakening of the religious spirit. After the two World Wars and the great social upheavals which they have produced, the precariousness of the human predicament is widely felt. We live in a period when we suffer from loneliness and anxiety, from a loss of certainties. How can we gain security in a world in which very little seems to be secure ?

How can we gain awareness which will bring freedom and courage ? How can we discover a new centre of strength within ourselves which will save us from insecurity ? The Buddha tells us that we can rise from darkness, ignorance, death to light, wisdom and immortality. This world of *saṁsāra* is not all. We can know the truth by experience. Whitehead's well-known saying that religion is what a man does with his solitariness is a comment on that central principle of Zen Buddhism, that *dhyāna* or devout contemplation, profound and intense, has for its result, *prajñā* or wisdom. This school of Buddhism founded by Bodhidharma who died in A.D. 475 asks us to reject all *sūtras* and *śāstras*, eschew all philosophy and rely entirely on mystical contemplation. Through it we have moments of vision, intimations of immortality. Man can know the truth about himself. By pondering over his ignorance and incomprehension he can vanquish them.

Awareness of the transcendent is something given in immediate experience. Religion is not doctrinal conformity or ceremonial piety, but it is participation in the mystery of being. It is wisdom or insight into reality. There cannot be any scripture or teaching of that which cannot be adequately expressed. *anakṣarasya dharmasya śrutiḥ kā deśanā ca kā.* We have the famous Rock Edict of Aśoka which asks us to respect other religions. By dispraising other religions, he tells us, we hurt our own. An injustice done to others is an injustice done to oneself.

In a variety of ways Hindu and Buddhist thinkers have laid stress on the transcendent unity of religions along with their empirical diversity. The goal of religion is one but the paths leading to it are many. The cows may be of different colours but the milk they give is of one colour, white. The lamps may be different but the light, the flame, the illumination they generate is the same. The story of the elephant and the six blind men is well known. When our eyes are opened we see that the different parts we stressed are parts of one whole, different sides of one truth.

If, in this country shrines and temples co-exist, if people respect all the religions, it is not due to confusion of mind. Shintoism and Buddhism are mixed up in Japan. Shinto divinities are said to be the spirits of the Buddhist pantheon and Shinto religious practices are accepted as means to enlightenment. The two faiths were treated as different expressions of the same truth. We sometimes find temples used as houses of worship by both religions. While the Greeks and the Romans adopted a similar attitude of hospitality to other religions, another attitude has also prevailed. Yahweh announced himself to Moses as a 'jealous God' commanding first of all that no other gods should be tolerated and he remained jealous even when his rule was extended to the whole race of men. Christianity and Islam inherited this viewpoint which equated contempt for false

gods with supreme piety. This frame of mind has had terrible consequences in the long history of persecutions. When we insist on right belief, we are punished not only for the worship of other gods but for wrong views about his own unknowable nature. Petrarch wrote: 'The Turks are enemies but the Greeks are schismatics and worse than enemies.'

Today, when we are tired of a world of unreliable faiths and intolerable beliefs we are giving up incredible dogmas and emphasizing the central truths in all religions. The prophets of Israel emphasize the simplicities of religion. Amos declared that Yahweh cared nothing for ceremonial worship but only for justice and righteousness. Hosea stressed not merely his righteousness but his love. Micah sums up the whole in these words: 'He hath showed thee, O man, what is good: and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God.'

Christian thinkers, who occupy a leading position, are emphasizing the central truths of Jesus' teaching. We are not inclined to take any religious truth as an exclusive divine revelation. A revelation granted to a small group at a particular moment in history, reconstructed by fallible men in narratives which are not always consistent, does not appeal to intelligent men. The case becomes worse when we are unable to agree upon the doctrine or embody

it in society. Jesus asks us to be reborn, to be renewed, to wake up from our ignorant, unregenerate condition. By their fruits and not by their beliefs ye shall know them. Augustine said that if one knows the object of his belief, then what he knows is not God. A God of love will reveal himself to all men who seek him though none would expect to know him wholly. The idea that there is no salvation except through the Christian Church has not been accepted by all Christian thinkers. There are saintly figures in classical antiquity as well as in Old Testament records. Erasmus, for example, gave a place in heaven to Socrates and Aristotle, Virgil and Cicero. Dante exemplifies this tradition when he makes Virgil his guide not only in hell but also in purgatory right into the paradise. Even in the Bible there are figures neither Jewish nor Christian who are presented as saintly.

Muhammad tells us: 'There is not a people but a warner has gone among them and every nation had a messsenger.'[1]

All the religions of mankind under the stress of modern thought are moving forward to a realization of the spirit of religion, a reaching forth to the fundamental and lasting verities of truth and love. Many of their followers are slowly realizing that exclusiveness is a blight on religion. Any religion which generates pride and a sense of intolerance is not authentic. We must develop a spirit of co-

[1] Qurān, XXX.V.25

operation among the different religions. Mutual respect helps us to interpret other religions at their best and learn from them. We cannot have respect for another religion when all the time our attempt is to obliterate it. We should not try to undermine faith and allegiance of other peoples. *na buddhi-bhedam janayet ajñānām karmasaṅginām.* By preaching that we have the only method of social and religious salvation, we separate ourselves from others.

At a time like this when we live in fear of the future on account of the great advances of science and technology, it is essential for all those who have faith in the wisdom and love of God, whatever may be their religious denominations, to get together, form a sacramental brotherhood and work for fellowship in which alone lies the redemption of man.

BUDDHIST ART EXHIBITION, DELHI

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

10 November, 1956

AS THE CHAIRMAN of the Buddha Jayanti Committee, it is my great privilege to request you, Mr President, to open the Exhibition of Buddhist Art organized by the Lalit Kala Akademi in connection with the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa. This occasion is used all over the Buddhist world for the revitalizing of the message of the Buddha.

Thought and feeling, intellect and imagination work together and illuminate each other. In our country art has always been closely associated with culture. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[1] says that arts are the instruments for the refinement of spirit, *ātmasaṁskṛtir vāva śilpāṇi*. It is sometimes thought that Buddhism by its emphasis on self-discipline does not encourage art. But this view is not quite correct. Even the Hīnayāna says: 'He who looks at me looks at my doctrine.' *yo mām passati so dhammam passati*. Buddhist art has been a great instrument for the spread of Buddhist doctrine. A Mahāyāna text *Ārya-gaṇḍa-vyūha* points out that the sight of the image of the Jina helps the growth of spiritual knowledge, *jinendrasya darśanam jñāna-vardhanam*.

[1] VI. 5. 1

The Buddha himself gives directions to Ānanda to set up caityas.[2] Sacred art is a vehicle for spiritual lessons.

The typical images which have come down to us from the Indus civilization about 2500 B.C. represent self-mastery and simple goodness which are the essential features of spiritual life emphasized by the Buddha in the sixth century B.C. In the first two or three centuries after the Buddha's parinirvāṇa he was represented symbolically from the scenes of his life. His birth was indicated by a garden in the midst of which stood a tree and his mother, his renunciation by a horse, his enlightenment by the bodhi tree, his first sermon by a wheel flanked by deer. It is interesting to find that the Buddha was born under a tree in the Lumbini garden, attained enlightenment under a tree at Bodh-Gaya and entered parinirvāṇa in the shade of a tree at Kusināra. We owe to the Emperor Aśoka (third century B.C.) the monolithic pillar and rock edicts. The finest of them all is the one at Sārnāth erected on the traditional site of the first turning of the Wheel of Dharma. We have taken our emblem of the State from it. Pictorial representations of the Jātaka tales, the stories of the lives of the Buddha in his previous existences are found in the bas-reliefs of Bhārhut and Sāñchi stupas. The many stūpas, caityas containing the relics of the Buddha or other famous teachers and the vihāras were the

[2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, 141, 1421.

creation of monks and nuns. These are found in all parts of India, Central, South, Eastern and Western, from Kashmir to Kanyā Kumāri, from Cutch to Orissa. Our ancestors of those days had an adequate appreciation of the oneness of our country which we are inclined to forget sometimes.

The first sculptural representations of the Buddha date from about the first century A.D. in the art of the Gāndhāra school which shows Graeco-Roman influence. Examples of this art are found at Bamiyan in North Central Afghanistan where temples were carved from the face of the cliffs and there are two great standing Buddhas 120 and 175 feet high. From Gāndhāra this art spread to Mathurā and Amarāvati. The bas-reliefs decorating the great stūpa at Amarāvati (second century A.D.) show a great development of Gāndhāra art. Buddhist art reached great heights in the Gupta period of which the Ajanta paintings and the sculptures at Mathurā and Sārnāth are lofty expressions. The figures of the Ajanta paintings may be old but they are alive and speak to our emotions directly. Spared by the chances of time we have the remains of the ancient University of Nālandā to which came many Chinese pilgrims among others, after hazardous journeys, to learn from the dedicated monks the truths of Buddhism. It is a pleasure to know that an Institute for Buddhist Studies has been set up recently in Nālandā.

Impressive as the Indian monuments are, for the most moving expressions of the religious emotions

of the people, we have to turn to Indonesia, Ceylon, Thailand, Cambodia, Japan and China. The stūpa of Borobudur is perhaps the greatest Buddha monument in existence. In it we have three miles of sculptured panels illustrating the story of the Buddha. In China at the great Buddhist centre of Tun-Huang, in the cave of the thousand Buddhas, Buddhist paintings from about the fourth century of the Christian era are to be found.

This exhibition has over 1,800 articles collected from different parts. We are grateful to the foreign Governments for their kind co-operation, especially the Governments of China, Bhūtan and Sikkim.

The Buddha preaches to us the doctrine of *mettā*, friendship, *karuṇā*, compassion. If we accept the Buddha's teaching of universal love, we will find a purpose in life, a guide in action, a reason for courage. Even if we may not find happiness in life we will not know despair. The best tribute that we can pay to the Buddha is to diminish the distinctions which disrupt our society and encourage the rule of law and respect for justice, and strive to displace international anarchy by international order.

May I request you, Mr President, to open this exhibition.

BUDDHA JAYANTI CELEBRATIONS*

24 November, 1956

IT HAS BEEN the practice of UNESCO to celebrate the memories of great moulders of history. I had the honour of presiding over the public meeting at the Florence UNESCO General Conference which discussed the message of Confucius. It is a fortunate coincidence that the Ninth General Conference of UNESCO is held in this country this year which marks the 2500th anniversary of Gautama the Buddha's parinirvāṇa. I take this opportunity to welcome all the delegates to UNESCO and those who have specially come from distant lands for the Buddha Jayanti.

Though the Buddha was born in this land, grew up in its tradition and left a permanent mark on the stream of events that expresses our culture, his message is of universal significance. In his Funeral Oration Pericles says: 'The whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; and their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on, far away without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives.' The great makers of history are universal men, living witnesses to the

* Speech at the Buddha Jayanti Celebrations organized by UNESCO and the Buddha Jayanti Committee, in Delhi.

spirit of profound kinship among men in a world sundered by strife and hatred.

The Buddha's teaching has an appeal to the modern mind which is steeped in the spirit of science and is impelled to sweep away cant and confusion and examine the traditional faiths with a searching, analytic eye. The Buddha declined to accept views on the authority of others and wished to reach his conclusions by his own experience. He imposed no authority, welcomed all enquiry. He encouraged people to think for themselves. Aśvaghoṣa tells us that the Buddha was not prepared to accept the views of others in regard to questions of existence and non-existence in this universe.

ihāsti nāstīti ya eṣa saṁśayaḥ
parasya vākyair na mamātra niścayaḥ
avetya tattvam tapasā śamena ca
svayam grahīṣyāmi yad atra niścitam.

'No decision is possible for me on the strength of others' words. I will arrive at the truth for myself by austerity and silent contemplation and will accept what is determined accordingly in this matter.'[1]

Man's spiritual quest arises from the consciousness of the transience of things, time's perpetual perishing. This is a fact of observation, not a theory or dogma. The nightmare of living in a hostile and incomprehensible world causes physical fear and intellectual disquiet. How can we escape from this

[1] IX. 73; see also IX. 74

world of sorrow? All great religions speak of sorrow. The Hindus speak of the sorrowful condition of man. *lokam śoka-hatam ca samastam.* The Buddha points to man in his unregenerate condition. Christianity speaks of the Fall, of original sin, of the vale of tears. The great teachers do not ask us to live and die in anxiety and darkness. They point a way out. The other fact is that even in this time-conditioned mode of existence, there are moments which are hints and suggestions of the eternal. These moments, intense and isolated, with no before and no after, are the moments in which one is lost in timeless contemplation. They represent the closest most of us ever get to freedom from the flux of events and bondage to time. Time and eternity are not inconsistent with each other and in man they intersect. Freedom from subjection to time, from change and becoming, from birth and death is possible. This is nirvāṇa. When we gain the perspective of the eternal, the troubles of the world do not upset us. Even as all the water in the ocean cannot sink a ship, all the griefs in the world cannot upset our life until it gets into our mind. We can overcome time.

Nirvāṇa is something to be achieved. The path of wisdom is not reached in an easy way. We must tread it in solitude and labour night and day. To say that life is suffering is to say that life is tension. Without freeing ourselves from the craving which creates tension, the Buddha says, there is no freedom.

The Buddha was concerned with practice, not theory. He gave an exacting programme of action. He points out the organic relationship between the spiritual goal and the ethical means. Many religious people practise cruelty and violence in the name of their religion. The Buddha sets his face against these immoralities practised in the name of religion. We may utter the names of Rāma, Krishna, Buddha, Christ, or Allah but these are empty words if there is no honour, no vision, no love, no courage or character behind them. It is sad to note the distance that separates high ideals from the reality of human passions. Religious professions and immoral practices stare us in the face. Social inequalities, wars and exploitation of man by man were tolerated in the name of religion. There is some point in the saying: 'God created man but the Devil invented man's institutions.' For Buddha that religion is empty which allows immoral practices. The eight-fold path of morality helps us to realize the spiritual goal of wisdom, illumination, insight into reality. Even as we improve in virtue, we qualify for spiritual life. We transform the world order even as we prepare ourselves for eternal life.

The Buddha called himself a path-finder, a path-shower. His function was to open the eyes of others to the all-encompassing reality. He did not encourage intellectual discussions which turn us aside from the arduous moral quest. The aim of doctrine

is to lead to the experience. The experience is spiritual and its expression through external ideas, time-bound and alien to the atmosphere of spiritual life, can only be symbolic. They convey or suggest the experience which lies beyond them. For he knew that the truth is one which no tongue can name and no life can express. 'The Tathāgata has no theories.' Religions preach peace, but are the causes of conflicts because they make the doctrines and practices which are a means to an end, ends in themselves. The dharma, the Buddha says, is like a raft for crossing over to the other shore; when we reach the shore we leave the raft behind. The Buddha never spoke contemptuously of others' beliefs. He did not engage in doctrinal controversies with others. 'If anyone were to find fault or abuse me or the Doctrine or the Noble Order, do not, monks, for that matter be offended, displeased, or ruffled. If you by any means become offended or perturbed, it will be to your own harm. On the other hand, whenever people hurl abuse and criticize, you should pause and think whether what they say contains some truth or whether what they say is just slander and false. Likewise, monks, if some one were to praise and glorify me, the Doctrine, or the Noble Order, you should not for that matter, feel particularly elated or pleased. If you do so, it will be to your own harm. On the contrary, in such an event you should pause and examine the truth of the matter. You should find out whether what

they say is actually to be found in us and whether they are correct.'[2] In Rock Edict XII, Aśoka wishes that the worthiness of all sects may increase, *sāravṛddhiḥ*. This arises only by honouring other sects in various ways. *pūjayitavyāḥ tu eva para-pāṣaṇḍāḥ tena tena prakāreṇa*. Whoever praises his own sect or blames other sects out of devotion to one's own sect, injures his own sect. Inter-communion alone is commendable, *samavāya eva sādhuḥ*. What is inter-communion or *samavāya*? It is to listen to and respect the doctrines of one another. *anyonyasya dharmam śṛṇvantu ca śuśrūṣeran ca*. In Pillar Edict VII, he makes out that all sects should be treated alike; the Buddhist Sangha, the Brāhmaṇas, the Ājīvikas, the Nirgranthas are mentioned specifically. A proper understanding of world society as it is taking shape today requires a study of the classical cultures of other peoples, and the different traditions which treat of the aspirations of mankind. UNESCO is deeply interested in this *sarva-dharma-samavāya* which will make for *loka-saṁgraha* or world solidarity.

The Buddha insists that we are what we make of ourselves. If we wish to save our civilization, we should change our natures. Many great civilizations seemed in their day to be permanent and now the wind blows through their halls and stirs the dust of forgotten cities. When we study history we find everywhere the dust and litter of decayed institu-

[2] *Brahmajāla Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya*

tions, broken purposes, ruined cities, mainly due to the outbursts of folly and fury, brutality and violence, the fatal grimness of man to man. Even today the spirit of savage intolerance is there, only new and fearfully destructive weapons are at its service. The only hope is to tame the savageness in us and subject the world order to moral laws. Peace is our birth-right and we must win it, peace based on justice and freedom.

People like the Buddha make us wiser for ever. The best memorials to him are not the stūpas erected over his ashes but lives well lived in the dharma. If it is taken seriously, the Buddha's teaching requires a new alignment of man's relation to man, of nation to nation, of race to race. If we do not change our ways, the night of spiritual blindness will descend upon us, the gains of science and the glories of culture will be lost and man will revert to barbarism. The Buddha gives us hope of transforming the present world into a gentler, kinder and juster place. What we are lacking in is faith, faith in the spirit of man, in the invincibility of righteousness. *yato dharmas tato jayaḥ.*

It is now my pleasure to request the President of India, Dr Rajendra Prasad, who is a devotee of the good life, to preside over this meeting.

UNION FOR STUDY OF RELIGIONS

26 December, 1956

I REGRET VERY MUCH that I am not able to be present at Madras for the meetings convened by the Indian branch of the Union for the Study of Religions. I hope the members will forgive my absence and feel that my spirit is there. I am keen that the followers of the different religions should understand one another and interpret other religions at their best and promote a spirit of harmony. In a world haunted by fear and torn by strife what is needed is a spirit of tolerance and understanding, not a mere grudging admission of other religious views but a glad recognition of the variety of the human mind.

William von Humboldt said : 'If we want to indicate a tendency which is found throughout the course of history, and which still prevails, it is the urge to overcome the boundaries that have been malevolently drawn between men by prejudice and biased opinions of all kinds. The whole of history is permeated by the idea of regarding the whole of mankind as one vast community, and of developing its intrinsic powers. This is the ultimate goal of human societies, thus to realize the tendency inherent in man by virtue of his nature. Firmly rooted in the innermost nature of man, the union

of all mankind is one of the great guiding ideas in the history of humanity.'[1] Though this ideal of world community has been proclaimed by the prophets of all religions, the factors and forces necessary for implementing this ideal are only now available, thanks to the advances of science and technology. We are living in an age of world communications, world trade, and world wars. There is a meeting of cultures and sacred traditions and we are all interested in preserving the characteristic qualities of the different traditions and not letting them merge in a grey monotony. The Union for the Study of Religions attempts not to obliterate differences but study the distinctive qualities of different religions, what they made of themselves, how they were formed and educated themselves by a process of interaction with others. Today humanity will be greatly enriched if the followers of different religions achieve justness in dealing with points of view which are not theirs and learn from one another. Spiritual fellowship is the meaning of history.

Even religions die out and lose all significance if they are not understood and conceived anew by each generation in the light of the new intellectual forces. Our modern civilization is still in the making. Its social ethics have not developed in response to the needs of the modern industrial society. The world today needs reasonableness and not fervour,

[1] *Universitas*, Vol. I, No. 1 (1956), p. 78

an understanding that the human predicament and the human quest are the same in all religions. Many educated people find traditional forms of religion too narrow and are searching for a religion at once more rational and more tolerant to give them some anchor in a fluctuating world. Some have adopted scientific humanism; others have embraced political ideologies; some others profess psycho-analysis. Still there are many lost souls who need a religion that is suited to the spirit of the age.

The points on which religions agree are more numerous and important than those on which they differ. The differences are no doubt important but we should not forget to stress the points of agreement.

Man is not exhausted by body and mind. In the complex of human personality there is an element which uses both and yet is neither. The waxing years and the waning strength are quite powerless to dim the brightness of spirit. The spirit is not an object in the world but a subject, the active source of what a man is and does. It is difficult to be aware of it as an object. As soon as we are aware of anything, we make it into an object of thought. In order to grasp ourselves as subjects we have to look back over our own shoulder and catch ourselves in a split second before the beginning of awareness develops into logical thought. Thus we know ourselves in our reality. This awareness is fundamental because it reveals the real self as it is.

The awareness of the Supreme, the communion with the Absolute defies linguistic description or logical analysis. Each religious doctrine is an approximate statement, a symbolic description of the Absolute Reality. The most illuminating account will fall infinitely short of expressing the Reality in its plenitude. 'For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways,' saith the Lord. 'For as the Heavens are higher than the Earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.'[2] So far as it goes every doctrine is an expression of the Absolute truth, of unique value, standing by itself, differing from others in its degree of illumination. It is an interim provisional report which we have to use to gain the end of awareness of the Supreme. The different religious views are but the dialects of the same language of the spirit. The religious experience they all aim at transcends the differences of words. The documents and the versions may change but the truth remains for ever, unique and indisputable. This truth, these values of spirit have their roots in the most profound depths of the human soul.

Those who have felt the Divine in them have conviction but are free from dogmatism. This is not an Oriental fantasy. It has wide support in the mystic thought of the West.

The seers know that it is wrong to whittle down the sense of mystery, of infinitude into finite and

[2] *Deutero—Isaiah*, LV, 8.9

limited concepts. Socrates observes: 'To find the Father and maker of all is hard, and having found him it is impossible to utter him.' Plato long ago declared that knowledge of the Divine cannot be communicated. His famous answer to Dionysius who asked for a short statement of Plato's philosophy sets out the situation in unforgettable words: 'There is no written work of my own on my philosophy, and there never will be. For this philosophy cannot possibly be put into words as other sciences can. The sole way of acquiring it is by strenuous intellectual communion and intimate personal intercourse, which kindle it in the soul instantaneously like a light caught from a leaping flame; and once alight, it feeds its own flame thenceforward.' The knowledge of God is an experience. About the Mystery Religions, Aristotle said: 'The initiated do not learn anything so much as feel certain emotions and are put in a certain frame of mind.' The important word we come across in the Christian gospels is 'behold'. 'Behold, I make all things new.' The end of man is a creative experience which is an immense enlargement and enrichment of life. Symmachus in his controversy with St. Ambrose observes: 'The heart of so great a mystery cannot even be reached by following one road only.' Whitehead says: 'Mysticism leads us to try to create out of the mystical experience something that will save it, or at least save the memory of it. Words do not convey it except feebly; we are aware of having

been in communication with infinitude and we know that no finite form we can give can convey it.'[3] Whitehead observes: 'There are no whole truths; all truths are half-truths. It is trying to treat them as whole truths that plays the devil.'[4] 'The idea that religion contains a literal, not a symbolical representation of truth and life is simply an impossible idea,' according to Santayana.

Those who have this experience, whatever religion they may adopt, belong to a single spiritual fraternity. These are the saints, who live their life in God and form a spiritual nobility. They have divested themselves of everything and yet lack nothing. They face the chances of the world with equanimity and feel no void. Tulasidās refers to this spirit in Rāma:

prasannatām yā na gatābhiṣekatas tathā na
mamlau vanavāsaduḥkhataḥ
mukhāmbujaśrī raghunandanasya me sadāstu
sā manjulamangalapradā.

'May that splendour of the lotus-like face of Śrī Rāma which did not glisten with joy at the prospect of his coronation and which likewise did not fade at the sorrow of forest residence be for ever the giver of sweet benediction to me.'

To attain this tranquillity, struggle, effort, discipline, personal purity and right action are essential. The greatest of the saints have had their tempta-

[3] *Dialogues* of A. N. Whitehead (1955), p. 160
[4] Ibid. p. 14

tions. It is easy to fight non-human nature, forests, floods and wild beasts, but it is difficult to fight the passions in our heart, the illusions that we embrace. The greatest of the temptations we must overcome is to think that our own religion is the only true religion, our own vision of Reality is the only authentic vision, that we alone have received a revelation and we are the chosen people, the children of light and the rest of the human race live in darkness. The saints do not believe that God is the exclusive property of any human being or a group of human beings.

Religious education depends far less on the spoken word than on the living examples set by the saints themselves, who live in God, clothed in love and immersed in service. The saints are free from a spirit of snobbery and their daily tasks are charged with meaning, their slightest movements reveal the grace within and their words are weighted with wisdom. They abhor cruelty in every form and detest exploitation of man by man.

I hope that the deliberations of the Madras meetings may help to make us slightly more religious and a little more understanding of other religions.

GENERAL

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HEALTH COUNCIL, DELHI

5 February, 1956

I AM HONOURED by your invitation to inaugurate this annual meeting of the Health Council which I do with great pleasure. Rajkumariji will give you a detailed account of the progress made in regard to the previous recommendations of the Council. I am not competent to deal with that.

Though we are generally regarded as other-worldly in our outlook, sober second thoughts will reveal that we always stressed that our spiritual aims could be realized only by physical efficiency and intellectual power. Health or *ārogya* is the basis for all other developments, ethical and economic, artistic and spiritual. *sarīram ādyam khalu dharma-sādhanam.* The great text *Yoga Sūtra* which prescribes the path of integral development of the human being which will enable him to live in unity with himself, his surroundings and with the Unseen Reality, suggests that physical prowess is the pre-requisite of every other kind of development. We did not despise body or beauty of form as inconsistent with spiritual realization. Beauty of outward form is a sign of inward grace. *yatra ākṛtiḥ tatra guṇāḥ bhavanti.* God is truth, goodness and beauty. He is *śivam, śāntam, sundaram.* Beauty

here is not a matter of prettiness, but of inward integrity, wholeness, or health.

Health, therefore, is not a mere negative absence of disease, but a positive state of well-being. It is dependent on a balancing and harmony of the different urges in the human being. When the harmony is disturbed we have disease. This disturbance is not entirely physical. It may be due to errors of judgment, *prajñāparādha*. Health is both physical and mental. If we act as if passions did not exist we end up as neurotics. The health of the mind has a good deal to do with the health of the body. There was a time when we thought that we could give people whatever temperaments we desire, choleric or timid, by chemical injections. Aldous Huxley gave us an account of this 'push button psychology' in his *Brave New World*. This tendency brought about an excessive confidence in wonder drugs and gadgets and a loss of confidence in the power of the human personality.

In our new world, mental diseases have been on the increase. The insecurity and fear of new conditions of life are responsible for it. A little girl coming home from school after a lecture on how to defend herself against the atom bomb, asked her mother: 'Can't we move to some place where there is not any sky?' Mental diseases are traceable to the loneliness and anxiety of the modern man who is suffering from the loss of certainties in a rapidly changing society. Anxiety is the great destroyer of

human health and well-being. If we are to stand against the insecurity of our time, we have to give a centre of strength within ourselves, to all those who are today in need of it, whose lives are empty, despairing and anxious. Jung, the great psychotherapist, traced a very large percentage of mental cases to the loosening hold of religious certainties. Mental healers, at any rate, should possess faith. The President of the American Medical Association, Dr Elmer Hess had some point when he said: 'Any man who enters the medical profession with financial gain as his sole objective is a discredit to his colleagues. The market place is where you go to make money, not the sickroom. A physician who walks into a sickroom is not alone. He can only minister to the ailing person with the material tools of scientific medicine—his faith in a higher power does the rest. Show me the doctor who denies the existence of the Supreme Being and I will say that he has no right to practise the healing art.'

In both medicine and surgery, we have had a great development till a few centuries ago. Even literary works refer to medical information. In his *Mālavikāgnimitra* Kālidāsa tells us that the remedies to be applied to one who was recently bitten by a snake were incision of the bitten part, or cauterizing it, or bleeding of it.[1] The development of these subjects got checked some centuries ago and it

[1] *chedo daṁśasya dāho vā kṣater vā raktamokṣaṇam*
etāni daṣṭa-mātrāṇām āyuṣaḥ pratipattayaḥ. IV. 4

should be now our endeavour to get them back into the stream of world thought.

The health of our people is poor and the incidence of disease high. Sanitation and environmental hygiene and other preventive measures are quite essential. Many of the diseases from which our people suffer are traceable to malnutrition, inadequate water supply, bad sanitation, infection. Steps will have to be taken to improve the conditions in which many of our people live, through self-help and mutual assistance schemes.

It is your special purpose to consider health in all its aspects such as 'the provision of remedial and preventive care, environmental hygiene, nutrition, health education and the promotion of facilities for training and research'.

Seventy-five per cent of our medical men live in urban areas, while eighty-five per cent of our people dwell in rural surroundings. If complaints are heard about unemployment among medical men, it is perhaps due to the fact that they are unwilling to go to places where they are most wanted.

In the present awakening in the country, our medical men should take a leading part. The world is shrinking into a unit and if we are to live in this competitive world, our standards of medical education must be high and facilities for medical research should be adequate. We cannot say that we have made outstanding contributions to the advancement of knowledge in medicine and surgery

as we have done to some extent, say, in physics and mathematics. Like all knowledge, medical knowledge is perpetually growing. There are institutes in the world where research work is in progress to determine the ability of the atom to treat, control, and possibly cure cancer.

Our young men and women who take to medicine and surgery are not in any sense inferior to those who adopt other lines. With ampler facilities they will do valuable work. It is not always possible for us to depend on training in foreign countries. Our medical men must be enabled to obtain higher training in our country. Competent men should be selected for specialization in different branches and encouraged to do outstanding work.

If we want to raise the standards of health in this country, we must pool the resources of the whole country. The problems of physical and mental health are the same in all parts of the country and it is, therefore, essential that our efforts should be co-ordinated. A National Service on an all-India basis may be a healthy corrective to the tendencies which are coming up to the surface in these days of linguistic uproar and limited loyalties.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT-GENERAL, CENTRAL REVENUES, DELHI

16 February, 1956

I AM HONOURED by the invitation to lay the foundation stone of the building for the Office of the Accountant-General, Central Revenues. Particulars of the nature and extent of the office building have been given to us by our Comptroller and Auditor-General. I need not repeat them again. The gradual development of this office into an independent unit from its beginnings as a part of the office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India till its present position is well known. The office has been functioning in Delhi since October 1924 and on account of pressure of accommodation has had to shift from one place to another, from the Secretariat building to Bodyguard Lines, to American Barracks on Curzon Road, where it now functions. In view of its increasing activities, the staff has risen from 445 in 1926 to nearly 1,700 last April and is likely to increase still further. On account of the important nature of its work, it is essential that it should have a separate building.

The building planned will be a multi-storeyed one and its cost is estimated to be about 40 lakhs of rupees. It will be able to accommodate about 2,000

persons and will have, I hope, adequate room for records, library, conference, training and examination halls, canteens, recreation and other welfare amenities.

I am not competent to speak of the various suggestions made by the Comptroller and Auditor-General in regard to the development of a satisfactory pattern of administration for the technical, financial and accounting sections. We are all interested in the evolution of a pattern which will secure efficiency and speed up work. These suggestions made by a relatively young, energetic and capable Comptroller and Auditor-General will, of course, receive the careful consideration of the authorities who will have to take the decisions.

The nature of the work of the A.-G. C. R. is of a highly responsible character, being the audit and maintenance of accounts of the civil expenditure of the Government of India. Since Independence governmental activities have increased. A wholly new Ministry of External Affairs was started and it has been steadily growing. We have embarked on large schemes of economic rehabilitation. We are about to start the Second Five Year Plan which is intended to raise further the living standards of our people. If we are to realize our ideals of social justice and progress, we must end poverty and gross inequalities of wealth by the provision of welfare facilities and distributive taxation. The public sector is widening. There

will be measures of fresh taxation. Our resources are limited and we should make them go a long way. In these circumstances, the public must have the confidence that they are getting an adequate return for the amounts spent, that there are no leakages or wastages on account of inefficiency, incompetence, or dishonesty. If the people feel unhappy about the way in which moneys are spent, discontent will spread and undermine the stability of the Government itself. By your work of checking expenditure, detecting errors of judgment as well as exposing them to the public, you can give the public a sense of confidence. Your duties are to the people of the country and not merely to the Government. In your work you must not think of the political effects of your observations and I hope that your service will maintain its great traditions and assist the development of democracy in this country.

The large-scale reconstruction, the great constructive enterprises, require considerable flexibility in the discharge of your task. Your work is not any more of a routine character. We are aiming not merely at internal security but at social progress. We must encourage initiative while counselling caution. We must avoid irritants and impediments. We must adhere to certain definite principles and not treat problems in an *ad hoc* manner. I hope your work will help the speedy carrying out of enterprises and not delay them

by unnecessary red-tape. Your Comptroller and Auditor-General is aware of the need to reduce red-tape, help the speedy execution of our great undertakings so as to increase output and raise earnings.

With the expansion of the public sector recruitment on a large scale will be necessary of administrative, scientific and technical personnel. The Second Plan is expected to provide more employment for our young men. If we are to inspire our young men with enthusiasm for the Second Five Year Plan, it is essential that the recruitment takes place on principles of merit and competence and that we avoid even the appearance of nepotism or corruption. If the idea gets abroad that, however well-qualified one might be, if he has not what is called influence, he cannot get a job, faith in our leadership will be impaired. It should be our duty to choose the very best irrespective of all other considerations of caste and community, or political pressures. Otherwise we will encourage a grave threat to our infant democracy.

Your service is recruited on an all-India basis and your members belong to different States and language groups, and can do a great deal in pulling the country into effective administrative unity. The great weakness of our people which has become almost a national failing is factious spirit and group loyalties. Sacrifice of national interests for personal ambition or group loyalties has impaired our social

fabric. Recent happenings demonstrated that we have taken national unity too much for granted. Our national consciousness has not yet acquired full emotional meaning. Factions and divisions infect our life from the village level to the national. All further progress depends on the unity of the country. We must develop a pride in our independence, gratification in our increasing influence in international affairs, and reverence for the great leaders who have helped us to attain the present status. Against the background of all these, the passions of the present are most unfortunate. If we are not to prove unworthy of the freedom which we have attained, we should avoid disputation about relatively small issues. Service and not domination should be our motto. We must all work as equals in the building up of a new India.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

25 February, 1956

I FIND MYSELF in the Chair today owing to the regrettable absence of Shri G. V. Mavalankar on account of serious illness. He has had long and large experience of parliamentary practices and procedures and would have given you effective guidance.

It is wise for us sometimes to detach ourselves from the rough and tumble of active politics and consider the foundations of politics, the ideals and principles of parliamentary democracy. Though our practices are based on those of the British House of Commons, we are developing our own conventions in response to our distinctive conditions.

You propose to discuss the role of political parties in legislatures, the relationship of Parliament with Government on the one hand and the people on the other, cabinet government, second chambers, etc., and I hope that your discussions will prove useful.

Democracy is derived from two Greek words meaning people and power. It literally means the rule of the people. We may look at it from different points of view, as a way of life, as a form of government, as an instrument for the development of social and economic content, as a method of approach in the settlement of problems. I shall

offer a few general remarks on each of these aspects.

I

The Hebrew prophet said: 'Where there is no vision the people perish.'[1]

Democracy gives us a vision, a way of life, asks us to accept certain ideals, norms, or standards of behaviour. The objectives and obligations prescribed in the Preamble and Part IV of the Constitution provide guidance for us.

The dignity of the individual, the sacredness of human personality is the fundamental principle of democracy. There is a tendency to look upon the individual as the helpless victim of world forces which are marching towards their destined goals. The world is becoming anonymous and the individual is getting lost in it. But life is manifested in the individual. Truth is revealed to the individual. It is the individual who learns and suffers, who knows joy and sorrow, forgiveness and hatred. The world owes all its progress to men who are ill at ease. Even the derelicts of humanity, the criminals and the outcasts, each has his self inside him. The function of the State is to see that the light of human

[1] Augustine in his *City of God* says: 'A nation is an association of reasonable beings united in a peaceful sharing of the things they cherish: therefore, to determine the quality of a nation, you must consider what those things are.'

recognition in men's eyes does not grow dim. In a touching poem representing the shy self-encouragement of a lonely young man in a far country, John Masefield writes:

> I have seen flowers come in stony places;
> And kindness done by men with ugly faces;
> And the gold cup won by the worst horse at the races;
> So I trust too.

If we compromise with the essential freedom of the spirit, all other liberties will disappear.

In *The Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx complains about the capitalist order which is, 'for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine'. It destroys, he holds, the *humanity* of the proletarian. The right of the individual to privacy and self-development is one of the cherished rights of democracy.

Āpastamba declares: *ātmalābhān na paraṁ vidyate.*[2] *ātmārthe pṛthivīm tyajet.* For the sake of the soul, even the world may be abandoned. What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his own soul?

In these days when the scientific outlook has made historical determinism fashionable, when great men are said to be slaves or instruments of impersonal forces, it is good to stress the role of the individual in history. There is only one safe rule for the historian, said H. A. L. Fisher, that we must 'recognize in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen'.

[2] *Dharma Sūtra*, I. 7. 2

Inevitability of a demonstration in Euclid does not apply to human affairs. Man has a real part in the making of history. *rājā kālasya kāraṇam.* While we reject rigid determinism, we cannot represent man as being completely emancipated from the past. The scope of human choice may be limited but it is there, all the same. We are not the plaything of fate. It is not by submerging our identity in the herd but by the creative use of freedom of thought, feeling and imagination, by wresting the initiative from the environment and vesting it in ourselves that we emancipate ourselves from the dominion of external forces. If we are able to clothe, feed and house ourselves better, if we are able to release ourselves from want and indignity, it is because of the free spirit of man and its initiative. The whole history of human progress centres round those prophets and heroes, those poets and artists, those pioneers and explorers who dared to take responsibility for their insights into goodness, truth, or beauty, who made their own choices and decisions even at the peril of their lives, for they felt that if they did not do so they would betray the spirit in them.[3] Respect for the individual is the moral basis of a democratic society. In it no one should be a slave and no one a master.

[3] Cf. what Latimer said to Ridley: 'Be of good cheer, master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out.'

Tocqueville writing about the United States of America more than a hundred years ago says: 'It had been supposed, until our time, that despotism was odious under whatever form it appeared. It is a discovery of modern days that there are such things as legitimate tyranny and holy injustice, provided they are exercised in the name of the people.' He says: 'I know no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America.' Again: 'If great writers have not at present existed in America, the reason is very simply given in these facts: there can be no literary genius without freedom of opinion, and freedom of opinion does not exist in America.'

II

janavākyam tu kartavyam narair api narādhipaiḥ. The voice of the people must be carried out by the people and the rulers. How are we to ascertain the will of the people? A mere clamour or catchword is not the will of the people.

Parliamentary democracy seems to be the best instrument for the ascertainment and expression of the public mind. Democracy is government by the representatives chosen by the people. Direct government by the people is not possible in modern States. Even village pañcāyats adopt the representative system. It gives the people the right to amend and

alter the Constitution. So long as it exists, till it is changed by the people's representatives, it is obligatory on all. Unless there is common ground, accepted by all members to whatever party they may belong, the work of Parliament cannot be carried on. Parliamentary democracy provides a peaceful way of changing Governments. Frequent elections indicate that people have the power to remove their representatives.

We have adopted universal adult suffrage. This demands universal education. Only then will the voters be able to comprehend national purpose and duty and use their vote not for selfish ends but for public welfare. Even though our voters are not educated in the formal sense, they have common-sense and an instinctive love of truth and justice.

People are sometimes seduced from these by propagandists and salesmen of new-fangled ideals, class interests, or group loyalties. By exploiting mob psychology people are manipulated, badgered, bribed and hypnotized into different groups. If intelligent nations have tamely submitted to dictatorial governments, it only shows how easily men give up their individual responsibility.

If people are to form sound opinions on social and economic affairs, they must have access to accurate information and an opportunity to hear all sides of the question. The sources of information should not be muzzled or controlled by selfish interests. People must have the freedom of thought

and expression. In a totalitarian society, the party in power regiments the views of the people through control of all agencies of information, communication and entertainment. All opposition is silenced and people hear only what the Government wants them to hear. It is the function of Parliament to express, not suppress social discontent. In a true democracy, even the thought we hate is tolerated so long as the thought we hold is free to combat it. We should not admit the crime of harbouring dangerous thoughts. Heretics were often liquidated, to use a modern phrase. The Crusades against the Albigensians in Southern France were as barbarous as the Nazi slaughter of the Jews. Only criminals guilty of violence should be restrained. What people think is their own private affair; what they do concerns the public.

Parliament acts as a liaison between the people and the State. It is the place where we sense atmosphere and create it. The leaders do not merely follow public opinion but lead it. 'Your representative', observes Burke in a well-known passage, 'owes you not his industry only but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion.' If we merely reflect public opinion on the plea that we are concerned with winning votes, then what we say in Parliament will be tripe, platitude and demagogy. The decisive consideration should not be whether we do anything popular but whether we do the right. In a majority

of cases, when we do wrong, we will be unpopular. Terrific pressures discourage acts of political courage.

Members of Parliament should be chosen with care and given training through institutions like your Bureau for Parliamentary Studies. The representative must have an understanding of the Constitution which is the contract between the people and the Government, its directive principles which form our national dharma or righteousness, which is the basis of all rights and duties, which helps to develop the secular and the spiritual interests of the people, *abhyudaya* and *nisśreyasa*.

We have scrapped the dogma of the divine right of kings; even Governments by elected majorities have no divine rights. A democratic government, i. e. government by the majority is open to grave abuses. Lord Acton observed: '.....that government by the whole people, being the government of the most numerous and most powerful class, is an evil of the same nature as unmixed monarchy, and requires for nearly the same reasons, institutions that shall protect it against itself and shall uphold the permanent reign of law against arbitrary revolutions of opinion.' For a sound democracy we require freedom of thought and expression. This demands respect for minority opinion. In a true democracy there is always an Opposition. It may not be strong in numbers but it does not follow that

it is lacking in political intelligence. The Opposition may not compel agreement but it compels thought. Authoritarian methods of suppression of opposition are dangerous to democracy. The Buddha, Socrates and Jesus are symbols. The State can silence them but cannot quench the fire that burns in them. Socrates and Jesus and many others were silenced as grave 'security risks' in the 'cold wars' of their times. Across centuries of despotism and dogma we find the poison cup, the Cross, the stake, the torture chamber and the concentration camp. We in India did not liquidate the Buddha or, for that matter, other non-conformists. As a rule we did not confront our people with either conformity or martyrdom. We allowed for freedom which is the way to progress. Nothing has been more disastrous to the world than the common assumption that we are always right. If we suppress those who preach unorthodox ideas and stifle the spirit in man, we are not democratic. What we do with our non-conformists is the test of a democracy.

A Government is not democratic simply because it is voted into power by the majority. It is not democratic when it is required to vote for only one party. The test is whether it gives democratic rights to its subjects, if it allows freedom of thought, speech and association to its opponents. If a party brooks no rivals outside it and no dissensions within it, even if it is voted by the electorate, it is undemocratic.

Part III of our Constitution on Fundamental Rights gives us a set of rights or civil liberties. These rights are the limits which the Government has placed on itself for the protection of the citizens. As even Governments cannot infringe them, we are preserved from tyranny. The highest political good is liberty regulated by just laws. If all men have these rights, they have also a duty to respect the rights of others. Our right ends when it interferes with the right of another. The right to free speech, for example, does not carry the right to an audience, for that interferes with the rights of others.

Democracy means distribution of power, decentralization. An independent Judiciary, Audit and Services Commission restrain Governments from arbitrary or tyrannical acts. These institutions require to be protected from the executive interference or political pressure. It is the only way to develop standards of public life, for even the best of men are coarsened and hardened by excess of power. Tyranny becomes a habit, nay a disease. Power should not be centralized.

The aim of society, says Aristotle, is to promote the good life, not the glorification of a Pharaoh or a great emperor. The good life is impossible under the incalculable caprices of a tyranny; so power should be bridled by law. Aristotle writes: 'He who bids law rule bids God and reason alone rule, but he who bids men rule adds the element of the beast.'

Since no man is fit for unbridled power, common-sense dictates the rule of law. Cicero insists that government is not mere arbitrary power. 'Society is not a mere mob come together anyhow.' He says that it is 'a commonwealth united by acceptance of law and by a common enjoyment of its practical advantages'. Political power is justified only if it advances the common good, *mānava dharma*. A tyrant rules by force, a Parliament rules according to law. The great political thinker Edmund Burke said: 'Those who give and those who receive arbitrary power are alike criminal and there is no man but is bound to resist it wherever it shows its face in the world....It is wickedness in politics to say that one man can have arbitrary power.' We do not want a tyrant or a mob. 'The objective of government', according to Spinoza, 'is not to change men from rational beings into beasts or puppets, but to enable them to develop their minds and bodies in security and employ their reason unshackled.' In fact, the true end of government is liberty.

Democratic government rests on clean and efficient administration. The Government is becoming the largest employer with the gradual expansion of the public sector. We must recruit the right type of personnel. Everyone must have an equal chance of securing a Government position and selection should depend on ability, not influence.

III

The democratic approach is by persuasion, argument and adjustment of conflicting views. If there is a difference of opinion, one can say—'agree with me or I will hit you,' or—'let us sit down, understand each other and decide.' The latter is the democratic approach. It believes that love is better than hate, co-operation better than strife, consent better than coercion. In the present world resort to violence is at best a cowardly escape from democratic processes and at worst treason to the future.

There are many problems facing us. To realize freedom of spirit, liberty from physical and social constraints is essential. We can free ourselves from material and social compulsions through right economic ordering of life and the proper fostering of social relationships. Many millions in our country suffer from a slavery far more cruel than chains and shackles. Human beings are sometimes treated as commodities to be bought and sold. Clauses in the Constitution or laws in the Statute Book are not changes in the structure of society. Poor people who wander about, find no work, no wages and starve, whose lives are a continual round of sore affliction and pinching poverty cannot be proud of the Constitution or its laws. We seem to be poor with the accumulated poverty of centuries. Until we are able to free our citizens from poverty,

hunger, disease and ignorance, our democracy will be empty of content. We should achieve a social and economic revolution by methods of persuasion and consent. We believe that we can improve our social environment by argument, conciliation and majority vote. We should have institutions of social conciliation and arbitration. While trade unions are not to be treated as tools of the State, they should not allow sectional interests to prevail over national good. Institutions which have been obstacles to economic well-being and social justice require to be removed.

It is true that society should protect itself against crime, for all violence is a menace to the rule of law. But we should also strive to check crime at its source. We must create conditions in which men and women can live and work and face the future with confidence and security.

Democracy is an invitation to a new life. The ideals we have set before ourselves must become flesh. What happened in 1947 is the beginning of a revolution and we have to carry it out. If our Constitution does not bend to the needs of a creative society in which 'the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all', it will break.

Democracy has two sides to it, the making of the individual and the drawing of the world together. A new society is possible only if men prize liberty as the highest of all possessions. We look forward to

a new order of society in which the sacredness of personality becomes the working principle, in which the whole world becomes the unit of co-operation, in which every person has equality of opportunity for his complete development, in which there would be a redistribution of the world's economic goods providing equal opportunities for all. The noble vision of a *societas generis humani*, the society of the whole human race, is taking shape in the minds of many. If the vision of a creative society, an indivisible democracy weakens, our society will decline. If the idea holds us, we move forward. To establish a creative democracy we should develop the democratic spirit in our hearts. Gandhi taught us that great power resides in the spirit of the people, not in the weapons they use to kill others but in their readiness to die. The *Mahābhārata* says:

naiva rājyam narād āsīt na
daṇḍo na ca dāṇḍikaḥ.
dharmeṇaiva prajāḥ sarvāḥ
rakṣantisma parasparam.[4]

A people flourish not because of a constitution or coercion or a law-giver but because they are guided by *dharma* and help each other in co-operation.

[4] *Śāntiparva*

CENTENARY OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

2 July, 1956

I AM DELIGHTED to be here and pay my tribute to the life and work of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

When I was a student in the early years of this century, the name of Tilak meant for the youth of the country burning patriotism, rare courage, indomitable will and dedication to the freedom of India.

In the second decade, I happened to write an article in July 1911 on *The Ethics of the Bhagavadgītā and Kant* which attracted the attention of Tilak who was then in Mandalay prison. The late Shri N. C. Kelkar wrote to me for that article which he sent to Tilak. In due course the article was returned to me with Tilak's marginal notes. I found to my great joy that Tilak mentioned my name in his preface to that monumental work *Gītā-rahasya* as one who supported an activistic interpretation of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Even the liberated are called upon to work for world solidarity, *lokasaṁgraha*, for the good of the world, the glory of God. *jagad-hitāya kṛṣṇāya*. The *Gītā* is a *yoga-śāstra*. Yoga is *karmasu kauśalam*, skill in action. *samatvam yoga ucyate*. Equanimity is yoga. Kṛṣṇa is *yogeśvara*. He is the Lord of action.

vivekī sarvadā muktaḥ kurvato nāsti kartṛtā
ālepavādam āśritya śrīkṛṣṇa janakau yathā.

The spiritual and social sides go together. Tilak's life was a demonstration of this great ideal of Karma Yoga. The saints of Maharashtra, Jnaneshwar, Eknath, Tukaram, Ramdas, proclaim that disinterested service of man is the worship of God.

In ordinary circumstances Tilak would have lived a scholar's life and made outstanding contributions to Oriental Studies and mathematics. But as a member of a subject nation he had no alternative except to take part in politics. When once he was asked: 'What portfolio will you take up when we obtain Swaraj? Will you be Prime Minister or Foreign Minister?' his answer showed where his heart lay. 'Under Swaraj, I will become a Professor of Mathematics and retire from political life. I detest politics. I still wish to write a book on Differential Calculus. The country is in a very bad way and so I am compelled to take part in politics;' and what a part! He was not in sympathy with the methods of those who were then called Moderates. He transformed the political movement limited to the upper classes into a national one. By the use of popular festivals and through the medium of his well-known Marathi paper *Kesari* he spread the message of Swaraj as our birthright to the common people. He advocated a vigorous programme of national education, Swadeshi, boycott, passive resistance including the non-payment of taxes. His

plan included prohibition and removal of untouchability. In his hands the political movement became a revolutionary one but revolution is not to be confused with barricades and bloodshed. He repudiated methods of violence. When political and social conflicts were tense, he affirmed that in such matters 'fanaticism is suicidal'.[1] When violence was in the air, Tilak wrote in *Kesari* as long ago as 1904: 'The British administration does not depend upon any one person at any time. Therefore, nobody can get Swarajya by killing an officer and even if one could get it, murder is absolutely reprehensible. It is cowardice to incite anyone to commit murder. But if necessary, we should suffer for our convictions.' When he was condemned to a six-year sentence, he said: 'There are higher powers than this tribunal that rule the destinies of beings and it may be the will of Providence that the cause I represent will prosper more by suffering than by my remaining free.' No wonder Gandhiji, when he was condemned to a similar sentence, and the judge observed: 'You will not consider it unreasonable, I think, that you should be classed with Mr Tilak,' said: 'Since you have done me the honour of recalling the trial of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, I just want to say that I consider it to be the proudest privilege and honour to be associated with his name.'

Tilak repeatedly said: Swaraj is the foundation and not the height of our future prosperity. We

[1] *Kesari*, 7.6.1892

have to build a new nation, develop a new character, live the principles which we advocate, faith in spiritual values, love of country and tolerance for views from which we differ. The perspective of history will record that in Tilak we had an Indian, true and great, proud of his country's past and confident about its future, a patriot unafraid and forthright, one who laid the foundations of Indian nationalism and revolutionary struggle through non-violent political action.

OPENING OF THE BANIHAL TUNNEL

22 December, 1956

I AM HAPPY to be here today to declare open the Banihal Tunnel. Though the project of a double-barrelled tunnel was conceived in 1949, the actual boring of the tunnel was started on August 1, 1955. The two tubes will be 60 feet apart from each other. While I am declaring open one tube today, the other will be ready by the end of 1958. The construction of this tunnel has been a considerable engineering achievement and I would like to pay my tribute to the Ministry of Transport and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and to the engineers and administrators and the large number of technicians, from India and abroad, and the many workers skilled and unskilled who have helped to build it.

An efficient system of communications is important in a country of vast distances like ours. The problem in this State is specially difficult, the terrain being what it is. This tunnel which would provide an all-weather link between the two component parts of the State would thus help to meet a long-felt need. Its importance would not merely lie in the physical sense of bringing Jammu nearer to Kashmir but in its more important aspect of bringing about a closer meeting of minds and union

of hearts between the different peoples of this State and thus to contribute to its ultimate benefit. The tunnel could thus become a symbol of the increasing unity of the State's peoples and an important landmark in its progress towards its social and economic welfare—the goal which the people of this State as those of the rest of India have set for themselves.

India is dedicated to free institutions and principles of democracy. We are striving to give everyone an opportunity and raise the standard of living for all. A democracy is one where the Government is the servant of the people. The people of a State are not commodities to be sold or purchased or prizes to be won or lost. They have the right to live their own lives and develop themselves in their own way under the guidance of their chosen representatives. If our political democracy is to succeed, it is essential that it be buttressed by steps towards economic equality or what has been referred to as the 'socialistic pattern of society'. Poverty and unemployment hold the biggest threats to the successful working of our democratic system. The huge river valley projects, the large industrial schemes and the imaginative approach to the development of rural areas—these attempts to mould natural and social forces are individual aspects of this process of economic development which is intended to contribute to a higher standard of life for our people and increase their well-being. This is

not all; welfare is not merely physical comfort and material prosperity. The good life is not merely good living; it is more an assurance of the wholeness of being and the dignity of man. It is to prevent the exploitation of one part of society by another, for society cannot but be a single whole which would suffer by such exploitation. It is for this social well-being that the improvement of the material conditions of the people is essential.

The people of this State have been long suffering and it is only in the last few years that we have begun to mould our future with due regard to our needs and wants. In this progress towards economic well-being, the people of this State have been playing a particularly significant role. Like other States in the Union, Kashmir has been the recipient of aid from the Central Government for the implementation of development schemes. I would take this opportunity to stress that as far as the Government of India is concerned, such aid is on the principle of giving it where it is most needed and where it is most likely to contribute to total welfare.

The progress made in economic and social development in Jammu and Kashmir State can be assessed adequately only if one throws one's mind back a little over nine years when the State of Jammu and Kashmir was stricken by invasion. The aggression not only brought death and destruction to its people but completely disorganized its economy. Thousands became homeless; hunger and destitu-

tion stalked the land, cholera and typhus took an epidemic form; hospitals and dispensaries were destroyed; the transport organization was disintegrated and serious shortages, particularly of food, developed.

Here was a challenge before which the bravest might well have quailed. The challenge has been met and in the only way in which such a challenge can be met, namely, a people backing a Government in the task of reconstruction and development and the Government dedicating itself to the service of the people.

The First Five Year Plan revised towards the end of 1953 involving an expenditure of Rs. 121 million laid the foundations. The major items of the Plan were: Power, irrigation, road development, rural and urban water supply, cottage and small-scale industries and tourism. A Government transport organization which plays such an important part in internal communications and in the promotion of tourist traffic and trade was created; new roads and bridges were constructed; food production was increased by extending irrigation facilities and encouraging wider use of chemical fertilizers, better seeds and improved agricultural methods. Over 200 production-cum-demonstration centres were opened where new and improved methods of production and designing are being evolved for the benefit of artisans and craftsmen engaged in the production of handicrafts and in



Welcoming the Delegates to the UNESCO General Conference, Delhi, 5 November, 1956

At the Exhibition of Entries for State Awards for excellence in printing and design, Delhi, 6 November, 1956





Addressing a public meeting in Delhi in connection with the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa, 24 May, 1956



Prize distribution, Ethiraj College, Madras, 27 January, 1957

Addressing the Centenary Convocation of the Madras University, 29 January, 1957



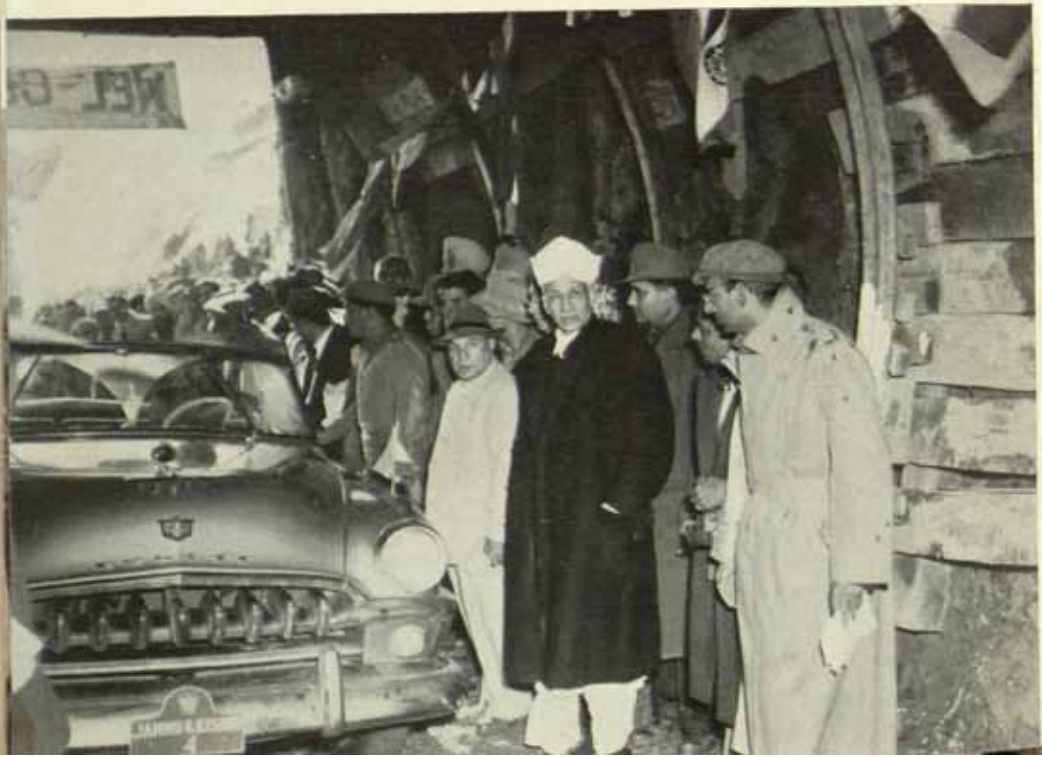
Conferment of Honorary Degrees of the Delhi University on Prof. Arnold Toynbee and Dr Wilder Penfield, 16 February, 1957





Addressing the All India Health Council, Delhi, 5 February, 1956

Opening of the Banihal Tunnel, Kashmir, 22 December, 1956



cottage industries. The woollen, silk, resin, turpentine and drugs industries were reorganized and production increased and customs barriers between the State and the rest of India were removed. Far-reaching agrarian reforms were introduced and the tiller assured of the possession of his land, landlordship being abolished; agricultural debts were scaled down and the compulsory collection of grain which had caused needless discontent among the cultivators was abolished. Education in the State was made free up to and including the university standard—a notable extension of social service which has not been achieved as yet in any other State in India.

The Second Five Year Plan will involve an outlay of Rs. 512 million. The items covered in the Second Plan are the achieving of self-sufficiency in food production; further development of irrigation facilities, communications and social services and important industries like raw silk and forest industries. The annual outlay on developmental expenditure during the Second Five Year Plan will be four times the annual revenue of the State before 1947.

The Banihal Tunnel is one instance of the economic development of the State. It ensures that the materials and equipment essential for further development will be available all through the year and the products of your farms and factories will be transported easily to the best available markets.

New avenues of employment will be opened and living standards of the people will be raised.

For the people of Kashmir, tourism is vital to their prosperity. The tourist traffic which has been steadily on the increase will grow with the opening of the tunnel. Tourism in this State has been confined so far mainly to the summer months. The inaccessibility of Kashmir in winter has prevented the exploitation of the natural beauties of the State and its possibilities as a source of winter sports during the cold weather. The opening of this tunnel will, I am sure, help to make Kashmir accessible throughout the year and thus contribute to its increased prosperity and help more people in this country and abroad to come to this State, understand its problems and draw its people closer to the people from outside.

I have great pleasure in declaring open one tube of the Banihal Tunnel project and I am sure this is a symbol of the rapid march of the people of Jammu and Kashmir State towards a happy and prosperous future.

PREFATORY INTRODUCTIONS

BUDDHISM*

IN 1938, during the Sino-Japanese war, Gandhiji reminded a Japanese statesman that we should re-learn the message of the Buddha and deliver it to the world: 'Today it is being denied everywhere I have no message to give you but this—that you must be true to your ancient heritage. The message is 2500 years old, but it has not yet been truly lived.' In this year when we are celebrating the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, it is good to have a simple, readable account of the story of the Buddha, revealing the great heights to which human thought and feeling have risen in his life and work.

Religion, for the Indian mind, whether Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist, is an endeavour to raise oneself to a higher level of being by discipline, mental, moral and spiritual. Dr Gangulee who spent the last years of his life in the study and meditation on the problems of religious life, makes out how the Buddha was a man among men, a humanist interested in the perennial problem of how man can liberate himself from the shackles of mortality. We are caught in the wheel of time because we are not yet what we ought to become. If we are to be redeemed from time, we must practise self-discipline. By fasting and meditation, by silence and

* *The Buddha and His Message*, edited by Dr N. Gangulee

chastity, we dissociate the self from the automatism of habit. We break our bondage to the life of routine. To break bonds is to taste freedom. It is to put away from us what is not ours. It is to realize that there is something unborn, *ajāta*, unbecome, *abhūta*, unmade, *akata*, uncomposite, *asaṅkhata*, undying, *amata*, which is the opposite of the flux or becoming.

> Change and decay in all around I see
> O Thou who changest not.

The Buddha calls himself *brahma-bhūta*, one who has become Brahman. When we are anchored in this wisdom, pride, hatred and hypocrisy fall away. We are tolerant with the intolerant, gentle with the violent, detached from things in the midst of those who are attached to them.

Creeds and ceremonies, rites and rituals are there to help us to discover the divine in us. They are means to the end of spiritual life and quarrels about them are meaningless. The truly religious man is a reconciling spirit, who has a realization of the universality of the ultimate truths proclaimed by different faiths. Each one can preserve his own form of faith and yet grow by assimliating whatever is of value in other faiths so long as they are not spiritually incompatible with one's own. This is the law of spiritual growth.

The Buddha asks us to abandon the feeling of pride or superiority in matters of faith. Non-egoism, *an-ahaṁkāra* is the need of both individuals and

nations. Humility is the one thing lacking in the self-righteous crusading spirits of our time. Let us learn to look upon the whole world as our own. No one is a stranger; nothing human is alien. 'Do not deceive each other, do not despise anybody anywhere, never in anger with anyone to suffer through your body, words, or thoughts. Like a mother guarding her only son with her own life, keep thy immeasurable loving thought for all creatures. Above thee, below thee, on all sides of thee, keep on all the world thy sympathy and immeasurable loving thought, without any wish to injure, without enmity.'—*Sutta Nipāta*

GENERAL PREFACE TO BUDDHIST TEXTS

THE TEACHING of the prophets is generally distorted by the beliefs of the world and the interpretations of the priests. If we wish to ascertain what the founders of great religions taught, we have to get back to the original sources.

Buddhism in all its forms goes back to the life and teaching of the Buddha. While the austerities practised by him till he attained enlightenment appeal to the Hīnayāna, the Pāli, or the Southern school, his life of service and compassion for forty-five years after the attainment of enlightenment is the authority for the Mahāyāna, the Sanskrit, or the Northern school.

The religious quest springs from the consciousness of the imperfection and suffering of the world. The questions which worried Tolstoy in the fiftieth year of his life disturb all thinking men. 'What is life ? Why should I live ? Why should I do anything ? Is there any meaning in life that can overcome inevitable death ?' Nijinzky summed up the whole problem in his *Diary* when he wrote: 'The whole life of my wife and of all mankind is death.' How can we be saved from the body of this death ? This is the problem of religion.

The Buddha traces suffering to selfish desire. Suffering is the result of tension between a living

creature's essential impulse to try to make itself into the centre of the universe and its essential dependence on the rest of creation. Craving is that which binds the individual to the creative process. The individual with selfish desire becomes the slave of the universe. We can overcome suffering only if we get rid of *tṛṣṇā* or *taṇhā*. To attempt to get rid of suffering through the various devices of self-deception is not to cease to suffer but to suffer in a different way.

The Buddha formulates the eight-fold path of morality which helps us to eliminate selfish desire and overcome suffering. When the Upaniṣads declare, 'That thou art', *tat tvam asi*, it is not a mere statement of fact. It is a call to action. Make thyself that which thou knowest thou canst be. Whereas the Hindu mind believes in a permanent element in the individual which can stand firm and unshaken in the midst of change, the Buddhist stresses the dynamic character of the self. No change is possible with an unchanging consciousness. We can achieve the possibilities in us by the exertion of the will rather than by the play of the intellect. Religion is not a creed but a vital process. It is no use railing against God or destiny when we are ourselves the authors of our disgrace. If few are chosen, it is because few choose to be chosen. The Buddha laid stress on the creative freedom of man. The Buddha did not encourage dependence on the supernatural. He could not conceive of a being capable of creating

a world for the express purpose of its creatures praising him. The ten *veramaṇīs* or prohibitions or abstinences called *daśaśīla* or *daśaśikṣāpada* which the novices in the path of Buddhism utter are given in these words: 'I take upon myself the abstinence, (1) from destroying life, (2) from taking what is not given, (3) from leading an unchaste life, (4) from speaking untruth, (5) from giving myself to intoxicating drugs, (6) from eating at irregular hours, (7) from seeing musical and dancing performances and other shows and pageants, (8) from wearing garlands, perfumes, unguents and other bodily decorations, (9) from using high couches and seats, (10) from accepting gifts of gold and silver.' The first five are the Buddhist Pañchaśīla.

Pāṇātipatā veramaṇī śikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi
Adinnādāna veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi
Kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi
Musāvādā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi
Surā-merayamajja-pamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi

Conflicts in the world are conflicts in the human soul enlarged. If men were at peace within themselves, the outer conflicts between nations would inevitably cease. By practising the Buddha's Pañchaśīla we will develop patience, courage, love and unselfishness. The Buddha teaches us that even in an age of anxiety and violence, it is possible to gain and maintain inner harmony, which is not at the mercy of outward circumstance.

Nirvāṇaṁ paramaṁ sukham. Nirvāṇa is the highest bliss. It is not a negative state of annihilation but a positive state of joy; consciousness grows from an unhappy to a beatific one. The Buddha does not tell us that man is but a bubble on the turbulent surface of nature and that he has no destiny save to undergo dissolution. The Hindu affirms that man can realize his identity with Brahman, the ground of all being; the Buddhist says that man can live in a transfigured world where *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are one. In *Mahā-saccaka Sutta* the Buddha himself is reported to have described the supreme triumph of reaching the goal of his quest as follows:

> When this knowledge, this insight had arisen within me, my heart was set free from intoxication of lusts, set free from the intoxication of becomings, set free from the intoxication of ignorance. In me thus emancipated there arose the certainty of that emancipation. And I came to know: 'Rebirth is at an end. The higher life has been fulfilled. What had to be done has been accomplished. After this present life there is no further for this or that.' This last insight did I attain to in the last watch of the night. Ignorance was beaten down, insight arose, darkness was destroyed, the light came, inasmuch as I was there strenuous, earnest, master of myself. Thus ended the struggle of six long years.

The Buddha is said to be a physician. Even as the physician strives to restore to health a sick man, the Buddha tries to restore us to our normal condition. If our leaders become normal, we may be able to replace the present social order in which

division, falsehood and violence prevail, by a new one in which humanity, truth and brotherhood will reign.

On the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, the Government of India decided to publish standard versions in Devanāgarī script of the Pāli and the Sanskrit texts of the two schools, Southern and Northern, in the hope that some of the readers of these books may be impelled to love the good, to practise altruism and hold their spirit aloof from the desires and ambitions of the world.

NĀM GHOṢA

THE SIXTEENTH century was a period of religious upheaval in India. In different parts of the country, religious reformers were anxious to simplify the faith, discourage caste distinctions and promote brotherhood. In Assam, Śaṁkara Deva was an apostle of Vaiṣṇavism who taught the worship of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, denounced idolatry, sacrificial piety and caste structure of society. His successor and disciple Mādhava Deva wrote *Nām Ghoṣa* and *Ratnāvalī* which are held in great esteem by his followers. *Nām Ghoṣa* which consists of 1,001 verses was written in the first half of the sixteenth century. It summarizes the teachings of Śaṁkara Deva and is a popular manual of *bhakti-mārga* or the path of devotion. The duty of man is to effect a transformation in his own nature. It is to grow from unrest to serenity, from man-beast to god-man.

nahy ataḥ paramo lābho dehinām bhrāmyatām iha
yato vindate paramām śāntim naśyati samsṛtiḥ.[1]

There are many ways by which this change can be brought about. The easiest for our times is said to be the path of devotion. Meditation was prescribed for the Satya Yuga; ceremonial piety for the Treta age; worship for the Dvāpara age. For our age nothing is more effective than *bhakti* which includes the chanting of God's name.

[1] *Bhāgavata*, XI. 5.37

dhyānam satya-yuge viṣṇoḥ tretāyam yajña-sādhanam
arcanaṁ dvāpara-yuge harināma kalau mune. 416

Chanting the name of the Lord is a well-known religious practice which has had a long history in India. *Nām Ghoṣa* makes it the central feature of its teaching. Saṁkara Deva emphasized four principles: (*i*) the knowledge of the Supreme Reality conceived as Nārāyaṇa, (*ii*) surrender to the Supreme in the form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, (*iii*) company of good souls, *satsaṅga* and (*iv*) prayer and chanting of the name of the Supreme Being. *Nām Ghoṣa* which expounds these principles based on the Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavadgītā* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in some verses exalts the name of Rāma. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are also identified.

Bhakti has been the popular religion of India. A verse is attributed to the great Advaitin Śaṁkara, which makes out that devotion to the Supreme is the greatest of the factors that contribute to spiritual freedom.

mokṣa-kāraṇa-sāmagryām bhaktir eva garīyasī
sva-svarūpānusandhānam bhaktir ity abhidhīyate.

The Supreme is the sole refuge of the lowliest and the lost who are devoid of discipline and infected with sin.

sarva-sādhana-hīnasya parādhīnasya sarvathā
pāpa-pīnasya dīnasya kṛṣṇa eva gatir mama.

I commit thousands of sins day and night. Know me to be thy servant and forgive me, O great Lord.

aparādha sahasrāṇi kriyante 'harniśam mayā
dāsoham iti mām matvā kṣamasva parameśvara.

Whatever faults we may be guilty of, we are saved if we say 'adoration to Hari'.

patitāḥ skhalitaḥ ārtaḥ kṣutvā vā vavaśo bruvan
haraye nama ity uccair mucyate sarva-pātakāt.[2]

There are no limitations of time or place or pollution for the practice of devotion.

na kālaniyamaḥ kaścin na deśa niyamas tathā
nāśaucādau nirvṛttiḥ syād harer nāmni lubdhakaḥ.[3]

Among the devotees there are no distinctions of caste and colour. They form one family. Nārada says :

nāsti teṣu jāti-vidyā-rūpa-kula-dharma-kriyādi-bhedaḥ.

It is this simple religion of devotion and casteless society that *Nām Ghoṣa* proclaims.

We are indebted to Shri Hara Mohan Das for this fine rendering which includes the Assamese original and English and Hindi translations. The editor has also given, where necessary, valuable references to the religious classics of India. I hope the book will be read widely and its lessons assimilated.

[2] *Bhāgavata*, X 11.12.46
[3] *Viṣṇu Rahasya*, 33

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

I AM DELIGHTED to know that there will be very soon a Russian translation of my two volumes on Indian Philosophy. Our philosophy has nearly three thousand years of recorded history and has stood for some central principles which have dominated this country for many centuries. The chief of them is that man's highest fulfilment consists in the integrated development of the different sides of his nature, body, mind and spirit. Mere physical growth or intellectual alertness is not enough. Spiritual realization should be the goal of man's effort. To get at it, there are no prescribed routes. That is why different religions peacefully co-existed in this country from the beginning of India's cultural history. The Aryans and the Dravidians, the Hindus and the Buddhists, the Jews and the Christians, the Zoroastrians and the Muslims were all received with open hospitality by the Indian people and their systems of thought and practice were enabled to develop according to their natural genius. In the international sphere today, we are pleading for the same policy of 'live and let live'. I hope Russian readers of these volumes will be persuaded of the efficacy of peaceful co-existence not only in the spiritual fields, but in international politics also.

KĀLIDĀSA*

GREAT classics of literature spring from profound depths in human experience. They come to us who live centuries later in vastly different conditions as the voice of our own experience. They release echoes within ourselves of what we never suspected was there. The deeper one goes into one's own experience, facing destiny, fighting fate, or enjoying love, the more does one's experience have in common with the experiences of others in other climes and ages. The most unique is the most universal. The Dialogues of the Buddha or of Plato, the dramas of Sophocles, the plays of Shakespeare are both national and universal. The more profoundly they are rooted in historical traditions, the more uniquely do they know themselves and elicit powerful responses from others. There is a timeless and spaceless quality about great classics.

Kālidāsa is the great representative of India's spirit, grace and genius. The Indian national consciousness is the base from which his works grow. Kālidāsa has absorbed India's cultural heritage, made it his own, enriched it, given it universal scope and significance. Its spiritual direction, its intellectual amplitude, its artistic expressions, its political forms and economic

* General Introduction to the special edition of Kālidāsa's works sponsored by the Sāhitya Akademi

arrangements, all find utterance in fresh, vital, shining phrases. We find in his works at their best, simple dignity of language, precision of phrase, classical taste, cultivated judgment, intense poetic sensibility and fusion of thought and feeling. In his dramas we find pathos, power, beauty, and great skill in the construction of plots and delineation of characters. He is at home in royal courts and on mountain tops, in happy homes and forest hermitages. He has a balanced outlook which enables him to deal sympathetically with men of high and low degree, fishermen, courtezans, servants. These great qualities make his works belong to the literature of the world. Humanity recognizes itself in them though they deal with Indian themes. In India Kālidāsa is recognized as the greatest poet and dramatist in Sanskrit literature. While once the poets were being counted, Kālidāsa as being the first occupied the last finger. But the ring-finger remained true to its name, *anāmikā*, nameless, since the second to Kālidāsa has not yet been found.[1]

Date

Tradition associates Kālidāsa with King Vikramāditya of Ujjayini who founded the

[1] *purā kavīnāṁ gaṇanā prasaṅge*
kaniṣṭhikādhiṣṭhita kālidāsaḥ
adyāpi tat-tulya-kaver abhāvād
anāmikā sārthavatī babhūva.

Vikrama era of 57 B.C.[2] The change in the name of the hero of *Vikramorvaśīya* from Purūravas to Vikrama lends support to the view that Kālidāsa belonged to the court of King Vikramāditya of Ujjayini. Agnimitra who is the hero of the drama *Malavikāgnimitra* was not a well-known monarch to deserve special notice by Kālidāsa. He belonged to the second century before Christ and his capital was Vidiśā. Kālidāsa's selection of this episode and his reference to Vidiśā as the famous capital of a king in *Meghadūta* suggest that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of Agnimitra. It is clear that Kālidāsa flourished after Agnimitra (c. 150 B.C) and before A.D. 634, the date of the famous Aihole inscription which refers to Kālidāsa as a great poet. If the suggestion that some verses of Mandasor inscription of A.D. 473 assume knowledge of Kālidāsa's writings is accepted, then his date cannot be later

[2] The Jain Kālakācārya Kathānaka records that the Śakas invaded Ujjayini and overthrew the dynasty of Gardhabhilla, who was styled Mahendrāditya. Some years afterwards, his son Vikramāditya repelled the invaders and re-established the old dynasty. It is sometimes said that the play *Vikramorvaśīya* celebrates this re-conquest. Ūrvaśī is the city of Ujjayini ruled by Mahendrāditya. She was conquered by Keśin, a demon, i. e. the chief of the bearded Śakas. The city became desolate and like Ūrvaśī was transformed into a creeper. Prince Vikramāditya regained the capital with a valour capable of obliging even his father Mahendra.

mahendropakāra paryāptena vikrama-mahimnā vardhate bhavān.

Mahendra conferred the throne on the prince and himself retired to the forest. To commemorate the great victory, Vikrama founded an era which was later called by his name.

than the end of the fourth century A.D. There are similarities between Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* and Kālidāsa's works. If Aśvaghoṣa is the debtor, then Kālidāsa was of an earlier date than the first century A.D.[3] If Kālidāsa is the debtor then his date would be later than the first century.

It is suggested that Kālidāsa belongs to the Gupta period and lived in the reign of Chandragupta II, who had the title of Vikramāditya.[4] He came to power about A.D. 345 and ruled till about 414. Whichever date we adopt we are in the region of reasonable conjecture and nothing more.

[3] The following verse may be an implied criticism of Kālidāsa's view:

śailendra-putrīm prati yena viddho devo'pi śambhuś calito babhūva
na cintayaty eṣa tam eva bāṇam kim syād acitto na śaraḥ sa eṣaḥ.

Again, compare Kālidāsa's line in *Raghuvaṁśa*, II. 42:

jaḍikṛtas tryambaka vīkṣaṇena vajram mumukṣann iva vajrapāṇiḥ

with *Buddhacarita* line:

tastambha bāhuḥ sagadas tato'sya purandarasyeva purā savajraḥ.

[4] Professor A. Berriedale Keith writes:

'Kālidāsa was later than Aśvaghoṣa and than the dramatist Bhāsa: he knew Greek terms as his use of Jāmitra proves; the Prakrit of his dramas is decidedly later than Aśvaghoṣa's and Bhāsa's and he cannot be put before the Gupta age.... We must remember that Chandragupta II had the style of Vikramāditya with whose name tradition consistently connects Kālidāsa. Nor is it absurd to see in the title *Kumārasaṁbhava* a hint at the young Kumāragupta or even in *Vikramorvaśīya* an allusion to the title Vikramāditya.'—*A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1920), p. 80

Sir William Jones places Kālidāsa in the first century B.C. Dr Peterson says: 'Kālidāsa stands near the beginning of the Christian era, if indeed, he does not overtop it.'

Works

Kālidāsa speaks very little of himself and we cannot therefore be sure of his authorship of many works attributed to him. There is, however, general agreement about Kālidāsa's authorship of the following works:

1. *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*, a drama in ten acts dealing with the love and marriage of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā; (Abbr. Ś.)

2. *Vikramorvaśīya*, a drama in five acts dealing with the love and marriage of Purūravas and Ūrvaśī; (Abbr. V.)

3. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, a drama in five acts dealing with the love of Mālavikā and Agnimitra; (Abbr. M.)

4. *Raghuvaṁśa*, an epic poem of nineteen cantos describing the lives of the Kings of the solar race; (Abbr. R.)

5. *Kumārasaṁbhava*, also an epic poem of seventeen cantos, dealing with the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī and the birth of Kumāra, the lord of war; (Abbr. K.)

6. *Meghadūta*, a poem of 129 stanzas describing the message of a Yakṣa to his wife, to be conveyed through a cloud;

R. T. H. Griffith remarks: 'About the time when Horace and Virgil were shedding an undying lustre upon the reign of Augustus, our poet Kālidāsa lived, loved and sang, giving and taking honour, at the polished court of the no less munificent patrons of Sanskrit literature, at the period of its highest perfection.'—Preface to *The Birth of The War-God* (1918)

7. *Ṛtu-saṁhāra*, a descriptive account of the six seasons.

Kālidāsa takes up his themes from the traditional lore of the country and transforms them to achieve his object. For example, in the epic story Śakuntalā was a calculating, worldly young woman and Duṣyanta a selfish lover. The poet wishes to exhibit the sentiment of love from its first awakening in a hermitage girl to its fullest perfection through the stages of separation, frustration, etc. In his own words, a play must present the diversity of life, and communicate charm and sweetness to men of varied tastes.

traiguṇyodbhavam atra lokacaritam nānā-rasaṁ dṛśyate
nāṭyam bhinna-rucer janasya bahudhāpy ekam samārā-
dhanam.

Some of his themes seem to be unrealistic, such as the carrying of a message by a cloud.[5] The poet anticipates the objection and answers it.

dhūmajyotiḥ salila marutāṁ sannipātaḥ kva meghaḥ
sandesārthāḥ kva paṭukaraṇaiḥ prāṇibhiḥ prāpaṇīyāḥ
ity autsukyād aparigaṇayan guhyakas tam yayāce
kāmārtā hi prakṛti-kṛpaṇāḥ cetanācetaneṣu.

'Where is a cloud, which is a composite of smoke,

[5] The cloud as a messenger is an old, pre-Christian, literary motif in China. We find it in Kiu yuan (or Chu yuan), the Chinese poet who died about 274 B.C. Cf. this echo of *Meghadūta* in Hśukan:

O floating clouds that swim in the heaven above
Bear on your wings these words to him I love.
— H. A. Giles: *A History of Chinese Literature*, p. 119

light, water and air, and where are the messages that can be conveyed by living beings endowed with strong limbs ? Without considering this, the Yakṣa in his eagerness begged the cloud to carry his message. Those that are love-stricken are by nature undiscriminating between conscious and unconscious beings.'[6] Rāmā's longing for his lost wife may have suggested to Kālidāsa Yakṣa's sorrow for the wife from whom he is separated.

We do not know any details about Kālidāsa's life. Numerous legends have gathered round his name which have no historical value. From his writings it is clear that he lived in an age of polished elegance and leisure, was greatly attached to the arts of song and dance, drawing and painting, was acquainted with the sciences of the day, versed in law and learned in the philosophical systems and ritual practices. He travelled widely in India and seems to have been familiar with the geography of the country from the Himālayas to Kanyā Kumārī. His graphic descriptions of the Himālayan scenes, of the saffron flower the plant of which grows in Kashmir, look like those of one who has personal acquaintance with them. He was sensitive to beauty in nature and human life.

Kālidāsa had self-confidence. In one place he says : 'If you have hearts which can melt in pity, do not set aside this canto of mine.'

[6] 1. 5

tad eṣa sargaḥ karuṇārdracittair
na me bhavadbhiḥ pratiṣedhanīyaḥ.[7]

This sense of assurance is not inconsistent with humility. He opens his *Raghuvaṁśa* with a confession of his rashness in undertaking the work.

kva sūrya-prabhavo vaṁśaḥ kva cālpaviṣayā matiḥ
titīrṣur dustaram mohād uḍupenāsmi sāgaram.[8]

'Where is the race originating from the Sun and where is my talent limited in scope ? Through infatuation, I am desirous of crossing with a raft the ocean that is difficult to cross.'

mandaḥ kaviyaśaḥ prārthī gamiṣyāmy upahāsyatām
prāṁśulabhye phale lobhād udbāhur iva vāmanaḥ.[9]

'Foolish and yet longing for a poet's renown, I shall become an object of ridicule, like a dwarf with his hands raised through greed towards a fruit accessible (only) to the tall.' If he still prefers to speak of the kings of the Raghu race, it is because he can count on ancient poets who have already opened the way and their virtues are so compelling in their character.[10]

Vāmana in his *Kāvyālaṁkāra* defines *rīti* as *viśiṣṭā padaracanā*, a particular style of expression and *vaidarbhī rīti* of which Kālidāsa is the master, as consisting of the following features :

śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā mādhuryam sukumāratā
artha-vyaktir udāratvam ojaḥ kānti samādhayaḥ.

[7] R. XIV. 42
[8] I. 2
[9] I. 3
[10] I. 3 & 4

'Suggestiveness, serenity, balance, sweetness, delicacy, clarity of sense, breadth of expression, vigour of thought, brilliance of diction and harmony of sentiments.'

The master artist suggests by a few touches what others fail to express even by elaborate discourses. Kālidāsa is famous for his economy of words and naturalness of speech in which sound and sense match. His pen-pictures are graceful and perfect, the royal chariot in full speed,[11] the running deer,[12] Ūrvaśī's bursting into tears,[13] Nārada's appearance in the sky like a moving *kalpa-vṛkṣa*.[14] He is master in the use of simile.

sarasijam anuviddhaṃ śaivalenāpi ramyam
malinam api himāṁśor lakṣma lakṣmīṁ tanoti
iyam adhika-manojñā valkalenāpi tanvī
kim iva hi madhurāṇam maṇḍanaṃ nākṛtīnām.

'A lotus, though intertwined with moss, is charming. The speck, though dark, heightens the beauty of the moon. This slim one, even with the bark dress, is more lovely. For what is not an embellishment of lovely forms ?'[15]

Again :

eko hi doṣo guṇa-sannipāte
nimajjatīndoḥ kiraṇeṣvivāṅkaḥ.

[11] V. I. 4
[12] Ś. I. 7
[13] V. V. 15
[14] V. V. 19
[15] Ś. I. 17

'Even as the single stain of the moon is not noticed by one who gazes at the beams that flow endlessly, even so no one dares to blame a shade of weakness in a hero's fame.' Practically on every page we have illustrations of Kālidāsa's mastery over the use of figures of speech.

Kālidāsa's writings instruct not by direct teaching but by gentle persuasion as by a loving wife. Mammaṭa says: *kāntā-sammitatayopadeśayuje; rāmādivat vartitavyam, na rāvaṇādivat.* By an aesthetic presentation of great ideals, the artist leads us to an acceptance of the same. We live vicariously the life of every character that is set before us and out of it all comes a large measure of understanding of mankind in general. Kālidāsa projects his rich and glowing personality on a great cultural tradition and gives utterance to its ideals of salvation, order, love. He expresses the desires, the urges, the hopes, the dreams, the successes and the failures of man in his struggle to make himself at home in the world. India has stood for a whole, integrated life and resisted any fragmentation of it. The poet describes the psychological conflicts that divide the soul and helps us to pull the whole pattern together.

Kālidāsa's works preserve for us moments of beauty, incidents of courage, acts of sacrifice and fleeting moods of the human heart. His works will continue to be read for that indefinable illumination about the human predicament which is the

work of a great poet. Many of his lines have become almost like proverbs in Sanskrit.

Religion

Kumārasaṁbhava opens with a verse in which the poet speaks as if the Himālayas were the measuring rod spanning the wide land from the east to the western sea.

asty uttarasyām diśi devatātmā
himālayo nāma nagādhirājaḥ
pūrvāparau toyanidhī vagāhya
sthitaḥ pṛthivyā iva mānadaṇḍaḥ.

He suggests that the culture developed in the Himālayan regions may be the 'measuring rod' of the cultures of the world.[16] This culture is essentially spiritual in quality. We are ordinarily imprisoned in the wheel of time, in historicity and so are restricted to the narrow limits of existence. Our aim should be to lift ourselves out of our entanglement to an awareness of the real which is behind and beyond all time and history, that which does not become, that which is, absolute, non-historical being itself. We cannot think it, enclose it within categories, images and verbal structures. We know more than we can think and express in historical forms. The end of man is to become aware by experience of this absolute reality. Compare the words of *Raghu-*

[16] Cf. Manu:
etad deśa-prasūtasya sakāśād agra-janmanaḥ
svaṁ svaṁ caritraṁ śikṣeran pṛthivyāṁ sarva-mānavāḥ.

vaṁśa: *brahmabhūyām gatim ājagāma.* The man of enlightenment reaches the supreme timeless life. The performer of good deeds has heaven for his share. We know the real by the deepest part of our being: *ātmānam ātmanā vetsi.*[17] The Real is the knower and the known: *vedyaṁ ca veditā cāsi.*[18] Again: *yam akṣaram vedavido vidus tam ātmānam ātmany avalokayantam.*[19] The Supreme leads a life of contemplation. Though he grants the fruits of others' austerities, he himself performs austerities: *svayam vidhātā tapasaḥ phalānām kenāpi kāmena tapas cacāra.*[20]

The Absolute which is the Real beyond all darkness is superior to the division of spirits and matter. It is omniscient, omnipresent and almighty. It manifests itself in the three forms (*tri-mūrti*), Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, the maker, the preserver and the destroyer. These gods are of equal rank and a believer may select any form which appeals to him for worship. In daily life, Kālidāsa was a follower of the Śaiva system. The opening invocations of the three dramas show that Kālidāsa was a devotee of Śiva.

yā sṛṣṭiḥ sraṣṭur ādyā vahati vidhihutam yā havir
yā ca hotrī
ye dve kālam vidhattaḥ śruti-viṣaya-guṇā yā
sthitā vyāpya viśvam

[17] K. II. 10; see *Bhagavadgītā*, X. 15.
[18] K. II. 15; see *Bhagavadgītā*, XI. 17.
[19] K. III. 50
[20] K. I. 57

yām āhuḥ sarva-bīja-prakṛtir iti yayā prāṇinaḥ prāṇavantaḥ
pratyajñābhiḥ prapannas tanubhir avatu vas tābhir aṣṭābhir īśaḥ.
—Śākuntalá

'May the Supreme Lord endowed with eight forms, water, the first creation of the Creator, (fire) which carries the oblation offered according to rule, (the priest) who is the offerer of the oblation, (those) two (visible forms, the sun and the moon) which regulate time, (that *ākāśa*) which perpetually pervades the universe, having the quality (sound) perceptible by the ear, (the earth) which they call the source of all created things, (air) by which living creations (become) possessed of life, (may he) preserve you.'

vedānteṣu yam āhur ekapuruṣam vyāpya sthitam rodasī yasminn īśvara ity ananya-viṣayaḥ śabdo yathārthākṣaraḥ antar yaś ca mumukṣubhir niyamita-prāṇādibhir mṛgyate sa sthāṇuḥ sthira-bhakti-yoga-sulabho niḥśreyasāyāstu vaḥ.
—Vikramorvaśīya

'May he, who is hailed by the Vedāntas as the Supreme Spirit, who still remains (transcendent) after pervading (both heaven and earth), to whom alone the specific designation Īśvara (supreme ruler) applies true to a syllable, and he who is sought inwardly by restraining *prāṇa* and the other vital airs, by those who desire to attain (complete) emancipation, (may he) the eternal, who is easily attainable by the path of steadfast devotion, bestow on you supreme bliss.'

The three methods of *jñāna*, *yoga* and *bhakti* are mentioned and the last is said to be the easiest path.

ekaiśvarye sthito 'pi praṇata-bahu-phale yaḥ svayam kṛttivāsāḥ
kāntā-sammiśradeho 'py aviṣaya-manasām yaḥ purastād yatīnām
aṣṭābhir yasya kṛtsnam jagad api tanubhir bibhrato nābhimānaḥ
sanmārgālokanāya vyapanayatu sa vas tāmasīm vṛttim īśaḥ.
—Mālavikāgnimitra

'He who, while possessing supreme powers that bear manifold fruits for his humble devotees is himself clad in elephant hide, who, though having his body united with that of his beloved, is yet the foremost of ascetics, whose minds are clear of sense-objects, and who, though sustaining the entire universe with (his) eight forms, is yet utterly free from a sense of egoity, may that Lord (Śiva) dispel your tendency dominated by *tamas*, that you may behold the path of righteousness.'

The opening verse of *Raghuvaṁśa* reads:

vāgarthāv iva saṁpṛktau vāgartha-pratipattaye
jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatī-parameśvarau.

While in *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the Lord should set us on the right path, *sanmārga*, in *Vikramorvaśīya*, he is said to be easily attainable by devotion, *bhakti-yoga-sulabha*, in *Śākuntala*, the Lord in his eight-fold forms is seen. Immediate insight into the Divine reality is the aim of religion.

Though Kālidāsa worshipped the Divine as

Śiva, his attitude was not in any way exclusive or narrow-minded. He had the catholic attitude of traditional Hinduism.[21] He treated with great respect the views of others. In *Raghuvaṁśa*, the gods approach Viṣṇu and praise him:

O thou who didst create this All,
Who dost preserve it, lest it fall,
Who wilt destroy it and its ways—
To thee, O triune Lord, be praise.

As into heaven's water run
The tastes of earth—yet it is one,
So thou art all the things that range
The Universe, yet dost not change.

Far, far removed, yet ever near;
Untouched by passion, yet austere;
Sinless, yet pitiful of heart;
Ancient, yet free from age—Thou art.

Though uncreate, thou seekest birth;
Dreaming, thou watchest heaven and earth;
Passionless, smitest low thy foes;
Who knows thy nature, Lord ? Who knows?

Though many different paths, O Lord,
May lead us to some great reward,
They gather and are merged in thee
Like floods of Ganges in the sea.

The saints who give Thee every thought,
Whose every act for thee is wrought,
Yearn for thine everlasting peace,
For bliss with thee, that cannot cease.

[21] Yuan Chwang tells us that at the great festival of Prayāga, King Harṣa dedicated a statue to the Buddha on the first day ; to the Sun, the favourite deity of his father, on the second ; and to Śiva on the third.

Like pearls that grow in ocean's night,
Like sunbeams radiantly bright,
Thy strange and wonder-working ways
Defeat extravagance of praise.

If songs that to thy glory tend
Should weary grow or take an end,
Our impotence must bear the blame,
And not thine unexhausted name.[22]

In *Kumārasaṁbhava*,[23] Brahmā is praised as the highest God; the beginning, the middle and the end of the world.

atha sarvasya dhātāram te sarve sarvatomukham
vāgīśam vāgbhirarthyābhiḥ prāṇipatyopatasthire
namas trimūrtaye tubhyam prāksṛṣṭeḥ kevalātmane
guṇa-traya-vibhāgāya paścād bhedam upeyuṣe.
jagad-yonir ayonis tvam jagad-anto nirantakaḥ
jagad-ādir anādis tvam jagad-īśo nirīśvaraḥ
ātmānam ātmanā vetsi sṛjasy ātmānam ātmanā
ātmanā kṛtinā ca tvam ātmanyeva pralīyase.

Kālidāsa has sympathy with all forms of religion and is free from prejudice and fanaticism. Each person can tread the path which appeals to him,[24] for the different forms of Godhead are the manifestations of the One Supreme who is the formless behind all forms.

tvam eva havyam hotā ca bhojyam bhoktā ca śāśvataḥ
vedyaṁ ca vedītā cāsi dhyātā dhyeyaṁ ca yat param.[25]

[22] E. T. by Arthur W. Ryder, *Kālidāsa's Works:* Everyman's Library

[23] II. 3, 4, 9, 10 [24] K. X. 26 [25] K. II. 4, 15

Again: *ekaiva mūrtir bibhide tridhā.*[26]

The objective of religion is freedom from subjection to time, from rebirth, which Duṣyanta desires for himself in the last verse.

mamāpi ca kṣapayatu nīlalohitaḥ punarbhavam parigataśaktir ātmabhūḥ.

Raghu, after installing Aja on the throne, retires to the forest, takes to a life of meditation and attains that which is beyond darkness.

tamasaḥ paramāpadavyayam puruṣam yogasamādhinā raghuḥ.[27]

Until the end of religion, the realization of the Supreme, the ascent from the vanity of time is attained, we will have opportunities for making progress towards the goal. In this journey towards the end we will be governed by the law of karma. Kālidāsa accepts the theory of rebirth.

ramyāṇi vīkṣya madhurāṁś ca niśamya śabdān
paryutsukī bhavati yat sukhito 'pi jantuḥ
tac cetasā smarati nūnam abodhapūrvam
bhāvasthirāṇi jananāntara sauhṛdāni.

Sītā, when banished by Rāma, says:

When he is born, I'll scorn my queenly station
Gaze on the sun, and live a hell on earth,
That I may know no pain of separation
From you, my husband, in another birth.[28]

This life is one stage in the path to perfection.

[26] K. VII. 44
[27] R. VIII. 24
[28] R. XIV. Ryder's E.T. 'He' refers to the child in her womb.

Even as the present life is the result of our past deeds, we can shape our future by our efforts in this life. The world is under a moral government. The good will ultimately triumph. If we have no tragedies in Kālidāsa, it is because he affirms the ultimate reality of concord and decency. Subject to this conviction, he induces our sympathy for the hard lot of the majority of men and women.

Dharma

Kālidāsa's writings dispose of the misconception that the Hindu mind was attentive to transcendental matters, and neglectful of mundane affairs. Kālidāsa's range of experience was wide. He enjoyed life, people, pictures and flowers. He does not separate men from the cosmos and from the forces of religion. He knows the full range of human sorrow and desire, meagre joy and endless hope. He points to a harmony of the four main interests of human life, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, the ethical, the economic, the artistic and the spiritual. The economic including the political and the artistic should be controlled by ethical norms. Ends and means are bound together. Life becomes livable only through valid ties. To cleanse and illuminate those ties was the poet's task.

Describing the first king in *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa says that Dilīpa's *artha* and *kāma* were centred in *dharma*.

apy artha-kāmau tasyāstām dharma eva manīṣiṇaḥ.[29]

[29] I. 25

Kālidāsa did not feel called upon to choose between religion and morality on the one side and progress and security on the other. These are not hostile to each other.

History is not a natural but a moral phenomenon. It is not a mere temporal succession. Its essence lies in the spiritual which informs the succession. The historian should penetrate and comprehend that inward moral dynamism. History is the work of man's ethical will of which liberty and creativity are the expressions.

The kings of the Raghu race were pure from birth, ruled over extensive domains stretching from earth to the ocean. *āsamudra kṣitīśānām.*[30] They amassed riches for charity, spoke measured words for the sake of truth, were eager for victory for the sake of glory and were householders for the sake of offspring. They gained knowledge in childhood, enjoyed the pleasures of life in youth, adopted the the ascetic life in old age and in the end cast away their bodies by yoga or meditation.

tyāgāya sambhṛtārthānām satyāya mitabhāṣiṇām
yaśase vijigīṣūṇām prajāyai gṛhamedhinām
śaiśave 'bhyasta vidyānām, yauvane viṣayaiṣiṇām
vārdhake munivṛttīnām, yogenānte tanu-tyajām.[31]

There is time for study under a teacher, a period for married life and towards the end of life's journey we have to set our hearts on things eternal.

[30] I. 5
[31] I. 7-8

In *Vikramorvaśīya* the king tells his son that it is time he entered the second stage of the house-holder, after having completed the stage of studentship.

ayi vatsa uṣitam tvayā pūrvasminn āśrame dvitīyam adhyāsituṁ tava samayaḥ.[32]

The kings collected revenues for the prosperity of their subjects, *prajānām eva bhūtyartham*,[33] even as the sun takes up water to give it back a thousand-fold. The rulers must stand up for *dharma*, justice. The king is the real father of the people, he educates them, protects them and provides for their livelihood, while the actual parents are only the causes of their physical birth.

prajānām vinayādhānād rakṣaṇād bharaṇād api
sa pitā pitaras tāsām kevalam janmahetavaḥ.[34]

Every one in Aja's kingdom thought that he was a personal friend of the king.

aham eva mato mahīpater iti sarvaḥ prakṛtiṣva-
cintayat.[35]

The ascetic tells the king in *Śākuntala*: 'Your weapon is for the protection of the afflicted and not for striking at the innocent.' *ārta-trāṇāya vaḥ śastram na prahartum anāgasi.*[36] Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, from whom this country takes its name, is called *sarvadamana*—not merely one who

[32] V
[33] R. I. 18
[34] R. I. 24
[35] VIII. 8
[36] I. 10

conquered every ferocious beast of the forest but has achieved self-control also. Self-control is essential for rulership.[37]

In *Raghuvaṁśa*,[38] Agnivarṇa gives himself to dissipation. He has so many mistresses that he cannot always call them by their right names. He develops a wasting disease and as, even in that condition he is unable to resist the pleasures of the senses, he dies.

Kālidāsa gives us pictures of the saint and the sage, the hero and the heroine with their nobility. They are the directing minds within a civilization. Nobility and self-control are their distinctive characteristics. Discipline is essential for a decent human life. Kālidāsa says: 'Even though produced in a mine, a gem is not worthy of being set in gold, O noble lady, so long as it is uncut.'

apy ākara samutpannā maṇī-jātir asaṁskṛtā
jāta-rūpeṇa kalyāṇi na hi saṁyogam arhati.[39]

In the spirit of the country, Kālidāsa exalts the quality of asceticism.

śama-pradhāneṣu tapo-dhaneṣu gūdhaṁ hi dāhāt-
makam asti tejaḥ.

In hermits with tranquillity as the chief characteristic, whose wealth is penance there is, verily, concealed, consuming fiery energy.[40] Though

[37] Kauṭilya remarks: *bharati iti lokasya bharaṇāt.* He is called Bharata because he supports the world. VII. 33

[38] XIX

[39] M. V. 18

[40] Ś. II. 7

Kālidāsa's works exalt austerity and adore saints and sages, he does not worship the begging bowl.

The laws of *dharma* are not static and unchanging. The tradition of the past has to be interpreted by one's own insight and awareness. Tradition and individual experience interpenetrate. We are the inheritors of the past but are also trustees of the future. In the last analysis, each one must find the guide for one's conduct in the innermost centre of himself. When Arjuna in the opening chapter of the *Bhagavad-gītā* declines to conform to the demands of society which impose on him as a kṣatriya the obligation to fight, when Socrates says, 'Men of Athens, I will obey God rather than you,' they are taking their stand on inward integrity rather than on outward conformity.

Kālidāsa tells us that in matters of doubt about one's duty, the authority is the voice of conscience, the wisdom of the heart.

satāṁ hi sandeha-padeṣu vastuṣu
pramāṇam antaḥ-karaṇa-pravṛttayaḥ.[41]

Love of Nature

In early Vedic literature the unity of all life, animate and inanimate, is indicated and many of the Vedic deities are personifications of striking

[41] Ś. I. 19. Cf. Manu:

śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ sadācāraḥ svasya ca priyam ātmanaḥ,....
samyak saṁkalpajaḥ kāmo dharmamūlam idam satām.

Kumārila quotes Kālidāsa in his *Tantravārttika.*

aspects of nature. The idea of retreat into nature, a mountain top or a forest hermitage, in search of the revelation of the spirit of the universe has been with us from early times. As human beings we have our roots in nature and participate in its life in many ways. The rhythm of night and day, changes of seasons suggest man's changing moods, variety and capriciousness. Nature had not become mechanical and impersonal for Kālidāsa. It had still its enchantment. His characters have a sensitive appreciation of plants and trees, of hills and rivers and a feeling of brotherhood for animals. We see in his writings flowers which bloom, birds which soar and animals which spring. We find a striking description of the love of the cow in *Raghuvaṁśa*.[42] The *Ṛtu-saṁhāra* gives a moving account of the six seasons. It reveals not only Kālidāsa's vision of nature's beauty but also an understanding of human moods and desires. In *Śākuntala* when the curtain rises, Śakuntalā and her two friends are seen watering the plants, creepers and trees of Kaṇva's hermitage where the stars and colours in the sky, the pretty flowers and the lively animals are vital parts of human experience. Śakuntalā does not look upon nurturing the plants as a drudgery but finds joy in it.

na kevalam tāta-niyogaḥ asti mamāpi sodara-sneha eteṣu.
'—not merely because my father has ordered it, I also have fraternal affection for them.'

[42] II

For Kālidāsa rivers, mountains, forests, trees possess a conscious individuality as animals, men and gods.

Śakuntalā is a child of nature. When she was abandoned by her *amānuṣī* mother Menakā, the birds of the sky pick her up and rear her until the sage Kaṇva takes her under his fostering care. Śakuntalā tended the plants, watched them grow and bloom and the occasions when they burst into blossoms and bore flowers and fruits were celebrated as festive days. Like a loving mother Śakuntalā reared up her pet animals and plants. No wonder they responded. On the occasion of Śakuntalā's wedding, trees sent their gifts, forest deities showered their blessings and cuckoos cooed aloud their joy. The hermitage was filled with grief at the prospect of Śakuntalā's departure. The deer drop their mouthfuls, the peacocks stop their dancing and the creepers shed their leafy tears. Kaṇva says of her :

pātum na prathamam vyavasyati jalam yuṣmāsv apīteṣu yā
nādatte priyamaṇḍanāpi bhavatām snehena yā pallavam
ādye vaḥ kusuma-prasūti-samaye yasyā bhavaty utsavaḥ
seyam yāti śakuntalā patigṛham sarvair anujñāyatām.

'She who never tries to drink water first when you have not drunk, who, though fond of decoration does not out of affection for you pluck a blossom, whose great joy is at the period of the first

appearance of blossom, even that Śakuntalā now departs to the house of her husband, let her be permitted by you all.'[43]

When Sītā is cast away, the peacocks abruptly stop their dance, the trees shed off flowers, and the female deer throw away the half-chewed darbha grass from their mouths—

nṛtyam mayūrāḥ kusumāni vṛkṣāḥ darbhānupāttān vijahur hariṇyaḥ
tasyāḥ prapanne sama-duḥkha-bhāvam atyantam āsīd ruditam vane 'pi.[44]

Kālidāsa takes up an object and creates it to the eye. He had a strong visualizing power. Look at the vivid description of the flight of the antelope which Duṣyanta pursues to the hermitage—

grīvābhaṅgābhirāmam muhur anupatati syandane baddhadṛṣṭiḥ
paścārdhena praviṣṭaḥ śarapatanabhayād bhūyasā pūrvakāyam
darbhair ardhāvalīḍhaiḥ śramavivṛta mukhabhraṁśibhiḥ kīrṇavartmā
paśyodagraplutatvād viyati bahutaram stokam urvyām prayāti.

'His glance fixed on the chariot ever and anon he leaps up gracefully bending his neck; through fear of the arrow's fall he draws ever his hinder part into the front of his body; he strews his path with the grass, half-chewed, which drops from his mouth

[43] V
[44] R. XIV

opened in weariness; so much aloft he bounds that he runs rather in the air than on earth.'

Kālidāsa's knowledge of nature was not only accurate but sympathetic. His observation was wedded to imagination. His descriptions of the snows of the Himālayas, of the music of the mighty current of the Ganges, of the different animals illustrate his human heart and appreciation of natural beauty.

No man can reach his full stature until he realizes the dignity and worth of life that is not human. We must develop sympathy with all forms of life. The world is not made only for man.

Love of Marriage

The love of man and woman attracted Kālidāsa and he lavished all his rich imagination in the description of the different kinds of love. He does not suffer from any inhibitions.[45] His women have a greater appeal than his men; for they reveal a timeless universal quality, whereas the men are dull and variable. They live on the surface while the women suffer from the depths. The competitiveness and self-assertion of the men may be useful in the office, factory, or battlefield, but do not make for refinement, charm and serenity. The women keep the tradition alive with their love for order and harmony.

[45] See M. II. 61; IV. 15. A. W. Ryder observes: 'He moved among men and women with a serene and godlike tread, neither self-indulgent nor ascetic, with mind and senses ever alert to every form of beauty.'—E. T., p. xiii.

When Kālidāsa describes feminine beauty, he adopts the conventional account and falls into the danger of sensuous engrossment and sometimes over-elaboration. In *Meghadūta* the Yakṣa gives a description of his wife to the cloud:

tanvī śyāmā śikhari-daśanā pakva-bimbādharoṣṭhī,
madhye kṣāmā, cakita-hariṇī-prekṣaṇā, nimna-nābhiḥ,
śronī-bhārād alasa-gamanā, stoka-namrā stanābhyām,
yā tatra syād yuvati-viṣaye sṛṣṭir ādyeva dhātuḥ.[46]

'There she lives who is, as it were, the first creation of Brahmā amongst women, slim, youthful (or fair in complexion) with pointed teeth, a lower lip red like a ripe *bimba* fruit, thin at the waist, with her eyes like those of a frightened female deer, with a deep navel, slow in gait on account of heavy hips and bending a little low by the weight of her breasts.'

See also the King's description of Mālavikā in II:

dīrghākṣam śarad-indu-kānti-vadanam bāhū natā-vaṁsayoḥ
samkṣiptam nibiḍonnata-stanam uraḥ pārśve pramṛṣṭe iva

[46] In *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, sometimes attributed to Kālidāsa, we find the following:

indīvareṇa nayanam, mukham ambujena,
kundena dantam, adharam navapallavena,
aṅgāni-campakadalaiḥ sa vidhāya vedhāḥ.
kānte katham ghatitavān upalena cetaḥ.

'Your eyes are like blue lotuses, your face like a lotus, your teeth are like jasmine, your lower lip is like a tender shoot; your limbs are like the leaves of the Campaka, tell me then, beloved, how the Creator formed your heart of stone.'

madhyaḥ pāṇimitomitaṁ ca jaghanam pādāvarālaṅ-
gulī
chando nartayitur yathaiva manasi śliṣṭam tathāsyā
vapuḥ.

'Her face has long eyes and the lustre of the autumnal moon, the arms slope down by the shoulders. Her chest is compact with thick and swelling breasts; her sides are (smooth) as though planed off. Her waist is measurable by the palm of the hand and her hips are broad and the feet have curved toes and her body is fashioned to suit exactly the fancy of the mind of a dancing master.'

He gives us here a pen picture of a typical dancing girl which may well make a painter envy.[47]

In the gallery of women Kālidāsa presents, we have many interesting types. For many of them the conventional pretences and defences of society did not work. Their sensitive natures were not adjusted to social expectations. Their conflicts and tensions called for integration. The men felt certain and were secure. They accepted polygamy as the normal rule. But Kālidāsa's women had imagination and understanding and so were victims of doubt and indecision. As a rule they were not fickle but trustful, sincere and loving.

In *Raghuvaṁśa* King Dilīpa lives the highest ideal of family life with his queen Sudakṣiṇā. Agnivarṇa, the last King in the Raghuvaṁśa is a prey to lust and

[47] See also M. III. 7, the description of Pārvatī in *Kumārasambhava*, and of Ūrvaśī in *Vikramorvaśīya*.

degradation. In between are Raghu, Aja and Indumatī, Daśaratha with his three queens, Rāma and Sītā and many others. Indumatī married Aja in a *svayaṁvara* choosing him from among a number of suitors.

Love is deepened by hardships and sufferings borne for the sake of love. It grows a hundred-fold in its intensity by obstacles to its realization even as the current of a river blocked on its way by uneven rocks (flows with greater force).

nadyā iva pravāhaḥ viṣama-śilā-saṅkata-skhalita vegaḥ vighnita-samāgama-sukho manasi-śayaḥ śata-guṇo bhavati.[48]

Even in the absence of fulfilment, the yearning gives all the joy that love means.

akṛtārthe'pi manasije ratim ubhaya prārthanā kurute.[49]

The pathos of separation finds poignant expression in *Meghadūta,* in *Rati-vilāpa*[50] and in *Aja-vilāpa.*[51]

Love happy in union is found in *Vikramorvaśīya.*[52]

In *Mālavikāgnimitra* the queen is called Dhāriṇī because she bears everything. She has dignity and forbearance. When Mālavikā attracts the notice of the King in a dance scene which the clown has contrived, she rebukes the King in words of harsh satire that such efficiency would be of advantage if shown in affairs of the state: *yadi rājakāryeṣv api*

[48] V. III. 8
[49] Ś. II. 1
[50] K. IV. See also *Meghadūta,* 55; V. III. 21
[51] R. VIII
[52] III. 19-20

īdṛśī upāya-nipuṇatāryaputrasya tataḥ śobhanam bhavet.[53] When her husband's affection shifted to Irāvatī and then to Mālavikā, her devotion to him persists. The *parivrājikā* Kauśikī observes : 'These noble women attached to their lords serve them even though it be against their own desires.'

pratikūlenāpi patim sevante bhartṛvatsalāḥ sādhvyaḥ.

By a series of misfortunes, Kauśikī is led to the religious life. She comforts and distracts the mind of Dhāriṇī. Though a nun, she is an authority on the dance and the cure for snake bite.

Irāvatī is passionate, impetuous, suspicious, demanding and dictatorial. When she was abandoned in favour of Mālavikā by the King, she bitterly complains and rebukes the King in harsh words. 'How immodest of feeling is my lord.' *aho avinīta-hṛdayo 'yam āryaputraḥ.* 'You wicked one, you are absolutely untrustworthy.' *śaṭha aviśvanīya hṛdayo 'si.* 'Oh ! These men are untrustworthy by nature. We, like innocent deer snared by the music of the hunter fall victims to their deceitful words and do not understand.'

aho aviśvasanīyāḥ puruṣāḥ ātmano vañcanāvacanam pramāṇīkṛtya ākṣiptayā vyādhajana-gīta-gṛhīta-cittayā hariṇyā iva etan na vijñātam mayā.[54]

Agnimitra's love for Mālavikā is of the sensual type. The King is fascinated by the beauty and grace of the maid.

[53] I. 19-20

[54] III. 19-20

In *Vikramorvaśīya* we have a blend of the human and the super-human. The nun *Kāṣīrājaputrī* is first restless and petulant. When she finds that Ūrvaśī is a heavenly *apsarā*, she acquiesces in her lot. The Queen Auśīnarī is portrayed as the ideal Hindu wife who gives up her own happiness for that of her husband. The clown remarks whether she was not making a virtue of necessity, spitting out sour grapes on the principle *abhāve viraktiḥ*. She rebukes the clown: 'Fool, my lord is so dear to me that even at the risk of putting an end to my pleasure, I wish him all happiness.'[55] *aham khalv ātmanaḥ sukhāvasāne-nāryaputram nirvṛtaśarīram kartum icchāmi*. She lived on friendly terms with Ūrvaśī and the Queen's attitude had its reward and Ūrvaśī pays her respect and precedence. Ūrvaśī asks her son to bow to the elder mother before entering on the second stage of the house-holder—*ehi, vatsa jyeṣṭha-mātaram abhivandasva*. Ūrvaśī's character is somewhat removed from normal life. She has power to watch her lover unseen and overhear his conversations. She is lacking in maternal affection, for she abandons her child rather than lose her husband. Her love is selfish and her transformation is the direct outcome of a fit of insane jealousy.

Purūravas sings in rapturous terms of love and says that the sovereignty of the world is not as

[55] III. The Bengali heroine Mālañcamālā whose husband had married a second time and left her unloved and forgotten says: 'Though I die now and become a bird or a lesser creature or whatever befall me, I care not, for I have seen my darling happy.'

sweet, as blissful, as the lover's labour at the feet of the beloved.[56] The world is dark and desolate to whom love is denied but it is bright and blissful to love triumphant.

Goethe's lines about *Śākuntala* are well-known:

> Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms
> and the fruits of its decline,
> And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured,
> feasted, fed
> Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in
> one sole name combine ?
> I name thee, O *Śākuntala*, and all at once is said.

In this play we have the development of blossom into fruit, of earth into heaven, of passion based on physical attraction into love based on moral beauty and spiritual understanding. Śakuntalā inherits from her mother Menakā, beauty and lightheartedness; and from her father Viśvāmitra, the famous ascetic, patient and forgiving love. Freedom of sense and austerity of life brought her into being. In her own life the two, freedom and restraint, earth and heaven combine.

In the first Act we find all the impulsiveness of youth. The daughter of the hermitage in the first outburst of passion gave herself away in simple innocence and complete trust to the King. She followed the unsuspecting path of nature as she had not learned to control her feelings and regulate her life by norms.

[56] III. 19

Many daughters of royal sages are heard to have been married by the *gāndharva* form of marriage and they have received the approval of their fathers.[57] Kaṇva when he hears of the marriage blesses it. Kālidāsa in verses of tender sorrow describes her departure from the hermitage to her husband's place. The very trees bid farewell to Śakuntalā in loving kindness. Kaṇva is filled with sorrow.

yāsyaty adya śakuntaleti hṛdayam saṁspṛṣṭamut-
kaṇṭhayā
kaṇṭhaḥ stambhita-bāṣpa-vṛtti-kaluṣas cintājaḍam
darśanam
vaiklavyam mama tāvad īdṛśam idam snehād araṇ-
yaukasaḥ
pīḍyante gṛhiṇaḥ kathaṁ nu tanayāviśleṣaduḥkhair
navaiḥ.

'At the thought that Śakuntalā will leave this very day my heart is smitten with grief, my voice is choked with suppressed tears, my sight is dulled by anxious thought. If so great is the affliction through affection of even me a forest-dweller, how much more are house-holders tormented by fresh griefs at separation from their daughters!'

Kaṇva gives her advice:

śuśrūṣasva gurūn kuru priyasakhīvṛttim sapatnījane
bhartur viprakṛtāpi roṣaṇatayā mā sma pratīpaṁgamaḥ

[57] III. 22. See Manu III. 32. It is a marriage arising from love, *kāmasaṁbhava* or mutual inclination, *anyonyecchā* of a youth and maid. It is concluded without any rites and without the knowledge of the elders.

bhūyiṣṭham bhava dakṣiṇā parijane bhāgyeṣv anutsekinī
yānty evam gṛhinī-padam yuvatayo vāmāh kulasyādhayaḥ.[58]

'Serve your elders, take to the behaviour of a dear friend to your co-wives. Even though wronged by your husband, do not, out of anger, be of refractory spirit; be ever courteous to your attendants, do not become arrogant in prosperity. Thus do young women attain the status of housewife; those of an opposite character are banes of the family.'

Duṣyanta through forgetfulness, for which the poet does not make him responsible, does not recognize her. He says that he should not look at another's wife. *anirvarṇanīyam parakalatram.* Śakuntalā suffered the worst that could happen to a devoted wife: she is disowned by her husband and disgraced. Her mind becomes vacant and she stands there lonely, filled with terror, anguish and despair. The poet narrates her endurance of desertion, her fortitude in suffering, her later disciplined life till she is restored to her husband. Love is not a mere affair of the senses; it is a kinship of spirit. Both Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā suffered, were disciplined by sorrow, and obtained the reward of a spiritual harmony. The youthful flush subsides; the gust of passion dies out. Love is won at a higher level and the brief glow of pleasure is turned into a steady life of bliss. Passion is linked with the

[58] Ś. IV. 18

sanctities of life. Nature and grace blend in harmony.

Kālidāsa does not judge the first union of lovers as a moral lapse. They are not sinners but they have to grow through suffering.

When Pārvatī approached Śiva performing tapas with the object of marrying him and started to serve him in different ways, Śiva was unmoved.

pratyarthi-bhūtām api tām samādheḥ śuśrūṣamāṇām girišo 'numene
vikārahetau sati vikriyante yeṣām na cetāṁsi ta eva dhīrāḥ.

The marriage of the two was essential for the birth of Kumāra, who would save the world from the terror and destruction which the demon Tāraka was forcing on it. So Indra sent the god of love, Kāma to disturb the concentration of Śiva. When Kāma approached Śiva, the latter was sitting with closed eyes, his senses withdrawn in *samādhi*, still like a rainless cloud, like a waveless ocean, like an unflickering flame.

avṛṣṭi-samrambham ivāmbuvāham apām ivādhāramanuttarāṅgam
antaś carāṇām marutām nirodhānnirvātā niṣkampam iva pradīpam.[59]

When Śiva was disturbed somewhat, he opened his eyes and fire flashed from his third eye and reduced Kāma to ashes. In the meantime Pārvati felt that her beauty was of little use.

[59] III. 48

vyartham samarthya-lalitaṁ vapur ātmanaś ca.[60]

She decided to win Śiva through the penance of the type in which Śiva himself was engaged.

iyeṣa sā kartum avandhya-rūpatām samādhim āsthāya tapobhir ātmanaḥ.[61]

She wished to win Śiva not through the attraction of her body but by the surrender of the heart. She lost her faith in *artha* and *kāma* but believed only in *dharma*.

anena dharmaḥ saviśeṣam adya me trivargasāraḥ.[62]

When she was told about the oddities of Śiva, she rebukes the Brahmin interlocutor with the words that the peculiar conduct of great souls and its causes are inscrutable and the fools unable to understand them laugh at them.

alokasāmānyam acintya-hetukam dviṣanti mandāḥ caritam mahātmanām.[63]

The ridiculing Brahmin turned out to be Śiva himself.

He said to Umā:

'"From this moment, O shy maiden, I am your slave, bought by your penance." So spake he whose crest is the moon and straightway all the fatigue

[60] III. 75

[61] V. 2

[62] V. 38. Cf. 'To me there is no joy in that union where the two are not equally ardent for each other.'

anāturotkaṇṭhitayoḥ prasiddhyatā samāgamenāpi ratir na mām prati
paraspara-prāpti-nirāśayor varam śarira-nāśopi samānurāgayoḥ.
M. III. 15

[63] V. 75

of her self-torture vanished. So here is it that fruitful toil feels as if it never had been.'

adya prabhṛty avanatāṅgi tavāsmi dāsaḥ
krītas tapobhir iti vādini candramaulau
ahnāya sā niyamajaṁ klamam utsasarja
kleśaḥ phalena hi punar navatām vidhatte.[64]

The truth illustrated here is that love born of sense attraction should be transformed into love based on austerity and control. While striving to reach heaven, both Pārvatī and Śakuntalā had to skirt the edge of the abyss.

Sex life is not inconsistent with spiritual attainment. Wild life or unrestrained passion is inconsistent with it. Sex life under law and restraint is spiritual in character. One can lead the life of a householder and yet be a hermit in temper. The Upaniṣad says: Enjoy by renunciation, *tyaktena bhuñjītha.*

The goal of life is joy, serenity, and not pleasure or happiness. Joy is the fulfilment of one's nature as a human being. We must affirm our being against the whole world, if need be. When Socrates was condemned to death or when Jesus was crucified, they did not take death as defeat but as fulfilment of their ideals. The aim of love is a happy harmony of man and woman. The concept of *ardhanārīśvara* brings it out. The wife does not belong to the husband but makes a whole with him.

The wife is the root of all social welfare.

[64] *svāha eva havir bhujam*; K. I. 50, *premṇā śarīrārdhaharām harasya.*

kriyāṇām khalu dharmyāṇāṁ satpatnyo mūla-kāraṇam.

The wife is the *saha-dharma-cāriṇī.*

iyam corvaśī yāvad āyus tava saha-dharma-cārinī bhavatu.[65] She is with him in the performance of all his duties. Indumatī was to Aja a housewife, a wise counsellor, a good friend, a confidante and a beloved pupil in learning the fine arts.

gṛhiṇī sacivaḥ sakhī mithaḥ priyaśiṣyā lalite kalā-vidhau.

Kālidāsa believes that marriage is fulfilled in parenthood. The physical attraction is sublimated through suffering caused by misunderstanding, separation, desertion, cruelty, etc. and attains its fulfilment in the child. The marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī was brought about for the birth of Kumāra. This country is named after Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. In *Raghuvaṁśa*, it is said that the love of Dilīpa and Sudakṣinā attained increase when it was shared by the son also.

rathāṅganāmnor iva bhāva-bandhanam babhūva yat prema parasparāśrayam
vibhaktam apy ekasutena tat tayoḥ parasparasyopari paryacīyata.[66]

In *Raghuvaṁśa* III. 23, Kālidāsa says that Dilīpa and Sudakṣiṇā rejoiced in the birth of their son even as Umā and Śiva were gratified by the birth

[65] V. v.
[66] R. III. 24

of Kārttikeya, as Śacī and Indra by the birth of Jayanta.[67] The marriage of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā found its fulfilment in the birth of their son Bharata. The birth of Kumāra was the main aim of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. Kālidāsa loves children, as is evident from his descriptions of Bharata, Āyus, Raghu, Kumāra.

For Kālidāsa the path of wisdom lies in the harmonious pursuit of the different aims of life and the development of an integral personality. He impresses on our mind these ideals, by the magic of his poetry, the richness of his imagination, his profound knowledge of human nature and his delicate descriptions of its most tender emotions. We can apply to him the words of Miranda in *The Tempest*.

> O Wonder,
> How many goodly creatures are there here!
> How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world,
> That has such people in't.

[67] *umā vṛṣāṅkau śara janmanā yathā, yathā jayantena*
śacīpurandarau
tathā nṛpaḥ sā ca sutena māgadhī nanandatus tat
sadṛśena tat samau.

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN LITERATURE

I AM GLAD TO KNOW that the Sāhitya Akademi is bringing out this small volume on Contemporary Indian Literature. The writers give the background of each Indian language, a short account of the growth of its literature and a survey of the present trends. There is a unity of outlook as the writers in different languages derive their inspiration from a common source and face more or less the same kind of experience, emotional and intellectual. Our country has never been insensitive to ideas which come from abroad but gives to all of them its own peculiar turn and imprint.

Literature is a sacred instrument and through the proper use of it we can combat the forces of ignorance and prejudice and foster national unity and world communion. Literature must voice the past, reflect the present and mould the future. Inspired language, *tejomayī vāk* will help readers to develop a humane and liberal outlook on life, to understand the world in which they live, to understand themselves and plan sensibly for their future.

I hope this small book will give to its readers an account of our travail of mind and heart, our hopes and aspirations.

DATTĀTREYA

IN THIS BOOK, *Dattātreya*, the author who is the Maharaja of Mysore and at present Governor of the Mysore State, gives us English translations of *Jīvanmukta Gītā* and *Avadhūta Gītā* with his own commentary. These treatises expound the *Advaita Vedānta* philosophy, which offers the basis for a sympathetic understanding among different religions. The representation of Dattātreya as a being with three faces indicates the fundamental oneness of the three gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. *eka eva tridhā smṛtaḥ*, one only but conceived as three-fold. The works here brought together speak of the spirit behind all religions, independent of the restrictions of dogma. Since this experience of reality cannot be adequately described, we must be gentle with the different versions of the experience. Spiritual humility should be our attitude and not dogmatic pride or intolerance. The forms we worship are the splintered images of the Divine Reality. This synthetic vision which is the characteristic of Hindu thought from its beginning in the Veda has in it the healing of the divisions among religions today.

The *Advaita* system which this book develops believes in the realization of the Eternal as the goal of religion. The Upaniṣad says: 'I have known the supreme person, the radiant one, beyond the dark

clouds', *vedāham etam puruṣam mahāntam, ādityavarṇam tamasaḥ parastāt.* Religions spring from the encounters of human beings with the Absolute Reality that is in and at the same time beyond all the phenomena of existence, life and history. The individual soul may commune with God at any time, in any place and in any historical circumstances. The individual can by austerity and discipline discover the divine in him and establish the superiority of the inner man over the environmental conditions. The experience is communicated and conveyed to mankind as the inspiration for a new way of life. When once we discover the divine in us, we become freed from egotism.[1]

rāga-dveṣa-vinirmuktaḥ
sarva-bhūta-hite-rataḥ
dṛḍha-bodhaś ca dhīraś ca
gacchet paramam padam.

He who is free from attachment and aversion, who is intent on doing good to all creatures, whose knowledge is stable and who is courageous attains to the highest truth.[2] All religions express the eternal voice of hope calling upon us to renounce hatred and greed. There is no chance of transforming the world into a juster, kinder, and gentler place except by the practice of unselfishness in individual and social matters.

[1] Cf. *Tejobindu Upaniṣad*: *aham brahmeti niścitya, aham bhāvam parityaja.*

[2] *Avadhūta Gita*: II. 24

The writer's translations and notes reveal his vast learning and deep devotion. The writer is not merely a theoretical student but a practising disciple, a *sādhaka*. He not only points out how the two works are rooted in the classical scriptures of Hinduism but are endorsed by his own personal experience. His comments on the different metaphysical questions, the concept of Dattātreya, the nature of Absolute Reality, the status of the world, the practice of meditation, the individual self and the meaning of liberation or spiritual freedom are always interesting and often illuminating. Those who read this book will have a rewarding experience.

ĀDI GRANTH

THE SUDDEN WIDENING of the spatial horizon has widened at the same time the horizons of the mind. There is an eagerness to know the ideas and beliefs by which other people live. This translation of a few selections from the *Ādi Granth* is a small attempt towards the better understanding of other peoples' ideas and convictions.

I

The *Ādi Granth*, which is regarded as the greatest work of Panjabi literature, is largely the work of Guru Arjun, the fifth of the ten Sikh Gurus.[1] He brought together the writings of the first four gurus and those of the Hindu and Muslim saints from different parts of India. Guru Arjun's successors made a few additions and the tenth guru, Govind Singh, said that there would be no more gurus and the *Granth* should be regarded as the living

[1] [1] Guru Nānak 1469-1539
[2] Guru Angad 1504-1552
[3] Guru Amar Dās 1479-1574
[4] Guru Ram Dās 1534-1581
[5] Guru Arjun 1563-1606
[6] Guru Har Govind 1595-1644
[7] Guru Har Rai 1630-1661
[8] Guru Har Kishen 1656-1664
[9] Guru Tej Bahadur 1621-1675
[10] Guru Govind Singh 1666-1708

voice of all the prophets, *guru-vāṇi*. William Penn says: 'There is something nearer to us than scriptures, to wit, the word in the heart from which all scriptures come.' Japji says: *guramukhi nādam guramukhi vedam*. The word of the guru is the music which the seers hear in their moments of ecstasy: the word of the guru is the highest scripture. By communion with the Word we attain the vision unattainable. Guru Arjun says that the book is the abode of God; *pothi paramesvar ka thām*. The hymns are set to music.[2] We find in *Ādi Granth* a wide range of mystical emotion, intimate expressions of the personal realization of God and rapturous hymns of divine love. The Sikh creed includes belief in the ten gurus and the *Ādi Granth*.

A remarkable feature of the *Ādi Granth* is that it contains the writings of the religious teachers of Hinduism, Islam, etc. This is in consistency with the tradition of India which respects all religions and believes in the freedom of the human spirit. Indian spiritual tradition is not content with mere toleration. There can be no goodwill or fellowship when we only tolerate each other. Lessing in his *Nathan the Wise* rebuked the habit of condescending

[2] The *Ādi Granth* includes hymns by Farīd (twelfth century), Beni (twelfth century), Jayadeva (twelfth century), Sadhna (thirteenth century), Trilocana (b. 1267), Nāmdev (thirteenth century), Rāmānanda (1360-1450), Sain (1390-1440), Pipa (b. 1425), Kabīr (1440-1518), Rāmdās (fifteenth century), Dhanna (early sixteenth century), Bhikkan (d. 1573), Sūrdās (b. 1528), Paramānanda, a disciple of Rāmānanda.

toleration. We must appreciate other faiths, recognize that they offer rich spiritual experiences and encourage sacrificial living and inspire their followers to a noble way of life. The Sikh gurus who compiled the *Ādi Granth* had this noble quality of appreciation of whatever was valuable in other religious traditions. The saints belong to the whole world. They are universal men, who free our minds from bigotry and superstition, dogma and ritual and emphasize the central simplicities of religion. The great seers of the world are the guardians of the inner values who correct the fanaticism of their superstitious followers.

II

The Hindu leaders neglected to teach the spiritual realities to the people at large who were sunk in superstition and materialism. Religion became confused with caste distinctions and taboos about eating and drinking. The Muslims were also victims of superstition and some of their leaders were afflicted with the disease of intolerance.[3] Saints arose in different parts of the country, intent on correcting the injustices and cruelties of society and redeeming it: Jñāneśvar, Nāmdev, and

[3] Nānak wrote: 'The age is a knife. Kings are butchers. They dispense justice when their palms are filled. . . . Decency and laws have vanished; falsehood stalks abroad. Then came Babar to Hindustan. Death disguised as a Moghul made war on us. There was slaughter and lamentation. Did not thou, O Lord, feel the pain?'

Eknāth in Mahārāṣtra, Narsingh Mehta in Gujerat, Caitanya in Bengal, Kabīr in Uttar Pradesh, Vallabhācārya in Andhra and others. All these stirred the people with a new feeling of devotion, love and humanity. They stressed that one's religion was tested not by one's beliefs but by one's conduct. No heart which shuts out truth and love can be the abode of God.

At a time when men were conscious of failure, Nānak appeared to renovate the spirit of religion and humanity. He did not found a new faith or organize a new community. That was done by his successors, notably the fifth guru. Nānak tried to build a nation of self-respecting men and women, devoted to God and their leaders, filled with a sense of equality and brotherhood for all.

III

The gurus are the light-bearers to mankind. They are the messengers of the timeless. They do not claim to teach a new doctrine but only to renew the eternal wisdom. Nānak elaborated the views of the Vaiṣṇava saints. His best known work is *Jap Sahib* or *Japji*, the morning prayer. Guru Arjun's popular composition is *Sukhmani*.

The Sikh gurus transcend the opposition between the personal and the impersonal, between the transcendent and the immanent. God is not an abstraction but an actuality. He is Truth, formless,

nirguṇa, absolute, eternal, infinite, beyond human comprehension. He is yet revealed through creation and through grace to anyone who seeks him through devotion. He is given to us as a Presence in worship. The ideas we form of him are intellectualizations of that presence. A great Muslim saint observed: 'Who beholds me formulates it not and who formulates me beholds me not. A man who beholds and then formulates is veiled from me by the formulation.' It is the vice of theology to define rather than to express, to formulate rather than to image or symbolize the indefinable. Silence is the only adequate expression of that which envelops and embraces us. No word, however noble, no symbol however significant can communicate the ineffable experience of being absorbed in the dazzling light of the Divine. Light is the primal symbol we use, of a consciousness ineffably beyond the power of the human mind to define or limit. The unveiled radiance of the sun would be darkness to the eye that strives to look into it. We can know it only by reflection, for we are ourselves a part of its infinite awareness.

Muhammad adopted the rigid monotheism from Judaism. 'Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor any manner of likeness of anything that is in the heaven above or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.'[4] Rāmānanda was hostile to the worship of images.

[4] *Exodus*, XX. 3-4

'If God is a stone, I will worship a mountain.' Kabīr says:

> The images are all lifeless, they cannot speak:
> I know, for I have cried aloud to them.
> The Purāṇa and the Qurān are mere words:
> Lifting up the curtain, I have seen.[5]

Nānak was greatly impressed by the monotheism of Islam and denounced image worship. One God who is just, loving, righteous, who is formless and yet the creator of the universe, who desires to be worshipped through love and righteousness—that is the belief that has dominated Sikhism. When at the temple of Jagannāth Nānak saw the worship in which lights were waved before the image and flowers and incense were presented on gold salvers studded with pearls, he burst into song:

> The sun and moon, O Lord, are thy lamps;
> the firmament
> thy salver and the oils of the stars the pearls set therein.
> The perfume of the sandal tree is thy incense;
> the wind
> is thy fan; all the forests are thy flowers, O Lord of light.

God is not limited to any one incarnation but sends his messengers from time to time, to lead struggling humanity towards him. It is the law of the spiritual world that whenever evil and ignorance darken human affairs, morality and wisdom will come to our rescue.[6]

[5] Rabindranath Tagore's English translation

[6] See *Bhagavadgītā*, IV. 7-8

The guru is the indwelling Divine who teaches all through the gentle voice of conscience. He appears outside in human form to those who crave for a visible guide. The enlightener is the inner self. Nānak is, for the Sikhs, the voice of God arousing the soul to spiritual effort. Faith in the guru is adopted by both the Hindus and the Muslim Sūfis. The latter emphasize the need of a religious teacher, *pīr*, to guide the initiate in prayer and meditation. The gurus are human and not divine. They are not to be worshipped. Guru Govind Singh says: 'Whosoever regards me as Lord shall be damned and destroyed. . . . I am but the servant of God.'

God alone is real. The world is real because God animates it and is found through it. The created world is not in an absolute sense. It arises from God and dissolves into Him. How came the Changeless to create a world of change? How did the One go forth into the many? If the One is compelled to create, it suffers from imperfection and insufficiency. But total perfection cannot have this insufficiency. The question assumes that the Eternal at one moment of time began the task of creation. But Eternity has no beginning and no end. If its nature is to create, it eternally creates. The idea of a God absorbed in self-contemplation and then for some unknown reason rousing Himself to create a universe is but a reflection of our human state. We alternate between activity and rest, between

inertia and excitement. Divine beatitude consists in a simultaneous union of contemplation and of act, of self-awareness and of self-giving. A static perfection is another name for death. Nānak looks upon the creative power of the Supreme as māyā. It is integral to the Supreme Being.

IV

The way to the knowledge of God is through self-surrender. It is not ceremonial piety; it is something inward in the soul. Those who in the humility of a perfect self-surrender have ceased to cling to their own petty egos are taken over by the super-human Reality, in the wonder of an indescribable love. The soul rapt in the vision and possession of a great loveliness grows to its likeness. Surrender to God becomes easy in the company of a saintly teacher, a guru.

Man is a child of God. He is mortal when he identifies himself with the perishable world and body. He can become immortal through union with God; until then he wanders in the darkness of the world. He is like a spark from the fire or a wave of the ocean. The individual comes forth from God, is always in him as a partial expression of His will and at last, when he becomes perfect, manifests God's will perfectly.

We have to tread the path which saints have

trodden to direct union with the Divine. We have to tread the interior way, to pass through crises, through dark nights and ordeals of patience. Nānak says: 'Yoga is not the smearing of ashes, is not the ear-rings and shaven beard, not the blowing of conches but it is remaining unspotted amidst impurity; thus is the contact with Yoga gained.'

Nānak was critical of the formalism of both the Hindus and the Muslims. He went to bathe in the Ganges as is usual with devout Hindus. When the Hindus threw water towards the rising sun as an offering to their dead ancestors, Nānak threw water in the opposite direction. When questioned, he said: 'I am watering my fields in the Panjab. If you can throw water to the dead in heaven, it should be easier to send it to a place on earth.' On another occasion, he fell asleep with his feet towards Mecca. An outraged Mulla drew his attention to it. Nānak answered: 'If you think I show disrespect by having my feet towards the house of God, turn them in some other direction where God does not dwell.' Nānak says: 'To worship an image, to make a pilgrimage to a shrine, to remain in a desert, and yet have the mind impure is all in vain; to be saved, worship only the Truth.' Nānak tells us: 'Keep no feeling of enmity for anyone. God is contained in every bosom.' Forgiveness is love at its highest power. Nānak says: 'Where there is forgiveness there is God Himself.'

When Ajita Randhava asked Guru Nānak about *ahiṁsā*, Nānak replied:

(1) Do not wish evil for anyone. This is *ahiṁsā* of thought.
(2) Do not speak harshly of anyone. This is *ahiṁsā* of speech.
(3) Do not obstruct anyone's work. This is *ahiṁsā* of action.
(4) If a man speaks ill of you, forgive him.
(5) Practise physical, mental and spiritual endurance.
(6) Help the suffering even at the cost of your life.

Belief in a separate self and its sufficiency is the original sin. Self-noughting is the teaching of the seers of all religions. Jesus says: 'If any man would follow me, let him deny himself.' Meister Eckhart declared that 'the Kingdom of God is for none but the thoroughly dead'. We should aim to escape from the prison of our selfhood and not to escape from body which is the temple of God. Until we reach the end we will have other lives to pass through. No failure is final. An eventual awakening for all is certain.

Nānak and his followers believe in the doctrine of karma and rebirth. We are born with different temperaments. Some are greedy and possessive, others fretful and passionate. We come into the world bearing the impress of our past karma. Circumstances may stimulate these qualities. We may by our effort weaken the evil dispositions and strengthen the good ones. True happiness cannot be found in perishable things. It is found only in

union with the Supreme. We are caught in the world of *saṁsāra* or change, in the wheel of births and deaths because we identify ourselves with the physical organism and the environment. We can be freed from the rotating wheel of *saṁsāra* by a union with God attained through devotion. We must accept God as the guiding principle of our life. It is not necessary to renounce the world and become an ascetic. God is everywhere, in the field and the factory as in the cell and the monastery.

The Sikhs, like some other Vaiṣṇava devotees who preceded them, denounce caste distinctions. Rāmānanda said:

Jāti panthi pūcchai nahi koi
hari ko bhaje so hari kā hoi.

Let no one ask of caste or sect; if anyone worships God, then he is God's. As God dwells in all creatures none is to be despised. When we become one with God through whole-hearted surrender, we live our lives on earth as instruments of the Divine.

The aim of liberation is not to escape from the world of space and time but to be enlightened, wherever we may be. It is to live in this world knowing that it is divinely informed. To experience a timeless reality we need not run away from the world. For those who are no longer bound to the wheel of *saṁsāra*, life on earth is centred in the bliss of eternity. Their life is joy and where joy is, there is creation. They have no other country here below except the world itself. They owe their loyalty and

love to the whole of humanity. God is universal. He is not the God of this race or that nation. He is the God of all human beings. They are all equal in His sight and can approach Him directly. We must, therefore, have regard for other peoples and other religions.

Nānak strove to bring Hindus and Muslims together. His life and teaching were a symbol of the harmony between the two communities. A popular verse describes him as a guru for the Hindus and a *pīr* for the Muslims.

Guru Nānak shah fakir
Hindu kā guru, mussulman kā pīr

V

The transformation of the peaceful followers of Nānak into a militant sect was the work of the sixth guru, Har Govind and of Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and last guru. The tenth guru converted the young community of disciples (sikhs, śisyas) into a semi-military brotherhood with special symbols and sacraments for protecting them. When his father Guru Tej Bahadur was summoned by Emperor Aurangzeb who faced him with the alternative of conversion to Islam or death, he preferred death and left a message: 'I gave my head but not my faith.'

sirr diya purr sirrar na diya.

His four sons also gave their lives in defence of their faith.

On the new year day in 1669, Guru Govind initiated five of his followers known as *Panj Piyaras* (five beloved ones) into a new fraternity called the *Khalsa* or the Pure. Of these five one was a Brahmin, one a Kṣatriya and the others belonged to the lower castes. He thus stressed social equality. They all drank out of the same bowl and were given new names with the suffix Singh (lion) attached to them. They resolved to observe the five K's, to wear their hair and beard unshorn (Keś),[7] to carry a comb in the hair (Kangha), to wear a steel bangle on the right wrist (Kara), to wear a pair of shorts (Kaccha) and to carry a sword (Kirpan). They were also enjoined to observe four rules of conduct (*rahat*), not to cut their hair, to abstain from smoking tobacco and avoid intoxicants, not to eat kosher meat, and to refrain from sex adultery (a precaution to protect Muslim women from Sikh soldiers). A new script, a new scripture, new centres of worship, new symbols and ceremonies made Sikhism into a new sect, if not a new religion. What started as a movement of Hindu dissenters has now become a new creed.

It is, however, unfortunate that the barriers which the Sikh gurus laboured to cast down are again being re-created. Many pernicious practices against which they revolted are creeping into Sikh society. Worldly considerations are corrupting the great ideals. Religion which lives in the outer threshold of

[7] Some Hindu ascetics do not cut their hair and beards.

consciousness without conviction in the mind or love in the heart is utterly inadequate. It must enter into the structure of our life, become a part of our being. The Upaniṣad says: 'He alone knows the truth who knows all living creatures as himself.' The barriers of seas and mountains will give way before the call of eternal truth which is set forth with freshness of feeling and fervour of devotion in the *Ādi Granth*.

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